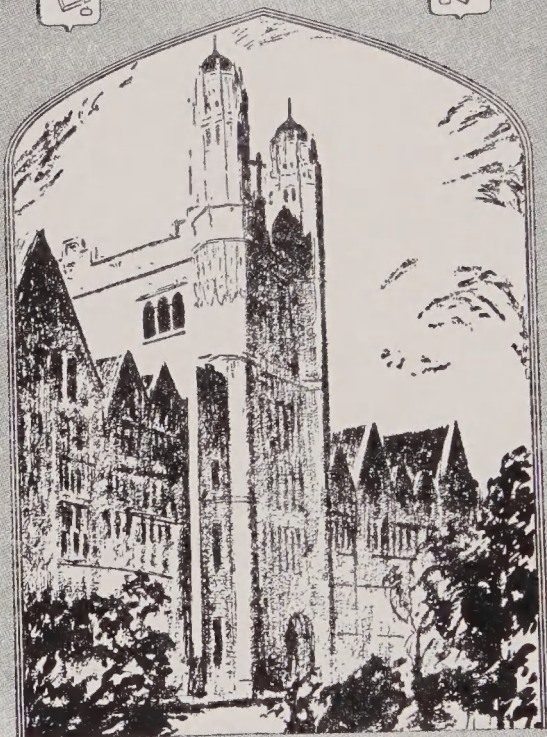


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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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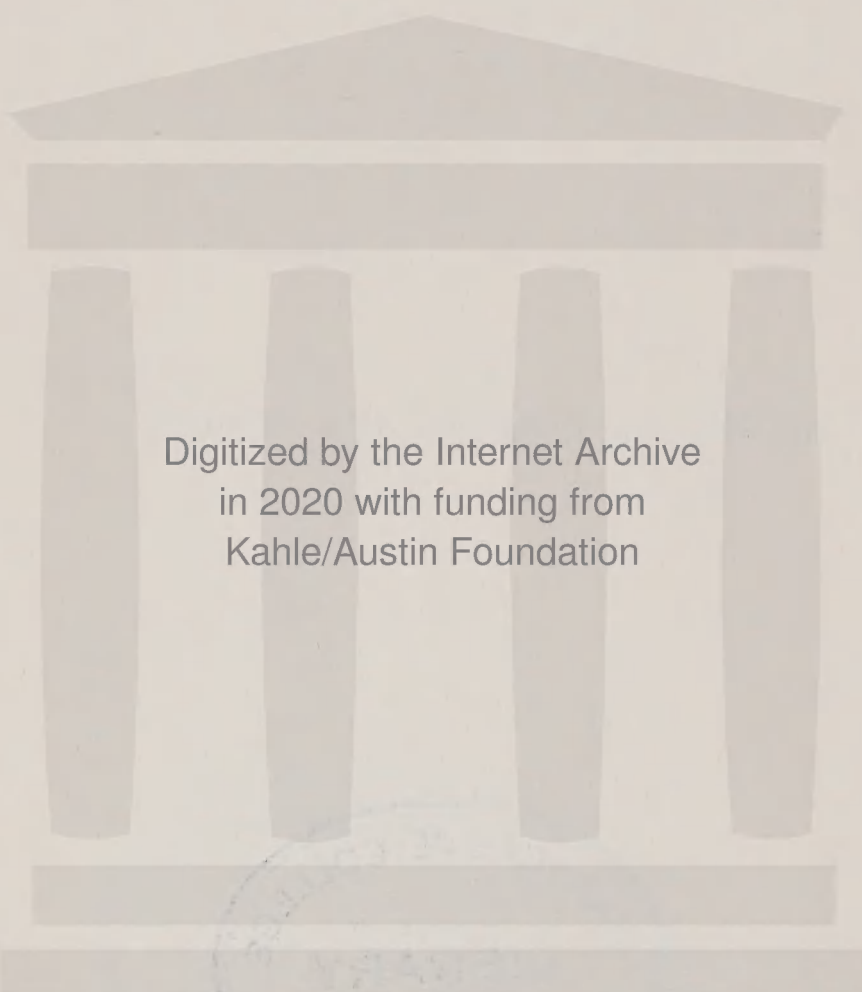
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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Historical Records and Studies

Volume XLVII

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CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1958

THE seventy-third annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held at Marymount College, 221 East 71st Street, New York City, on Monday, November 3, 1958, at 8:15 P.M. The retiring president, the Reverend Vincent C. Hopkins, after opening the meeting with prayer, received the report of the nominating committee, read by David C. Broderick, chairman. The following candidates were proposed: honorary president, His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman; president, George B. Fargis; vice-president, John D. Connorton; treasurer, Fred R. Beaudry; secretary, F. Sadlier Dinger; and editor of publications, the Reverend James A. Reynolds. The committee also nominated as directors: George Brooks, the Reverend Florence D. Cohalan, James V. Hayes, the Reverend Vincent C. Hopkins, William H. Mulligan, and Francis X. O'Brien. Upon motion duly made and seconded, the secretary was directed to cast one ballot for the election of the above candidates. The motion was next made, seconded, and carried that the chairman dispense with the reading of reports by the officers of the society. The chairman then adjourned the business session and presented the Most Reverend Philip J. Furlong, who presided for the remainder of the meeting as the representative of Cardinal Spellman, honorary president of the society.

The speaker of the evening was the Reverend Gustave Weigel, S.J., noted American theologian whose interest in current non-Catholic theological thought has made him an authority on inter-credal relations, particularly in the United States. Father Weigel, formerly dean of the faculty of theology of the Catholic University of Chile and now professor of ecclesiology at Woodstock College, Maryland, is the author of *Faustus of Riete* and *Catholic Primer of the Ecumenical Movement*. The subject of his address was "Time, History, and the Church," the text of which is printed elsewhere in this volume.

After the reading of the paper and the discussion period that followed, His Excellency, Bishop Furlong, conveyed to the meeting the greetings of Cardinal Spellman and noted the Cardinal's

deep interest in the work of the United States Catholic Historical Society. In alluding to himself, the Bishop remarked that he was probably the oldest member of the Society present; he had attended many of its annual meetings; and he was happy to observe that the audience was the largest in many years. This fact he took to be a tribute to the speaker of the evening. Bishop Furlong congratulated Father Weigel on his address and expressed to him the gratitude of the meeting. He then conveyed the blessing of His Eminence the Cardinal and concluded the proceedings with prayer.

ELIZABETH P. HERBERMANN

Members of the United States Catholic Historical Society have noted with profound sorrow the death, on August 12, 1959, of one of their most honored associates, Elizabeth P. Herbermann. With her retirement in 1956 as executive secretary of the Society, Miss Herbermann ended a term of service, loyal and devoted, that extended for forty years. The tribute paid her on that occasion, and printed in volume XLV of these *Records and Studies*, was a work of affection and reverence. The name she bore, because of its long and essential connection with this Society, and her own contribution to its renown will be recorded not only in the annals but also in the hearts of the members of the United States Catholic Historical Society.

Requiescat in Pace.

Notice

Because of increasing demand for its publications, in both the *Monograph Series* and *Historical Records and Studies*, the United States Catholic Historical Society welcomes donation of past volumes, most of which are out of print.

Communications from prospective donors should be addressed to the executive secretary of the society:

MRS. ROBERT W. HAWTHORN
720 Pelham Road
New Rochelle, New York

TIME, HISTORY, AND THE CHURCH*

BY GUSTAVE WEIGEL, S.J.

TIME according to the majority of philosophers is not really real. Kant taught that it is only a term for the human way of perceiving objects which of themselves are timeless. Now no matter what the philosophers have to say on the point, the clock-makers go on their merry way making more clocks than ever before. Bells ring, lights flash, and whistles blow in order to tell us the time. The television and the trains are extremely time-conscious and no one is more concerned with time than the boy sitting restlessly in the classroom awaiting the time-signal of dismissal. He would derive little consolation from the philosophic reflection that there really is no time.

Whatever may be said about the notion of time, there is a universal persuasion that reality in as far as it is relevant to man's concern is a flux. Even those philosophers who denied the validity of the persuasion, gladly admitted that men really have an illusion of flux. If reality is not flux, at least the illusion of its fluidity is the realest condition for every human action.

Time and flux are at once liberating and confining. They are liberating in as far as they release us from the evils of one moment. The next moment will have its evils too, but they are not the evils which oppress us now. Concrete evil is transitory because of time and flux. This gives the sick man hope and patience. However, time and flux confine us as much as they liberate us. No matter how fast we run, no matter how slowly we move, the treadmill keeps going. We are stuck to it and every attempt to leave it only increases its attachment to our being. To stand free of change, to see reality as a whole, are human desires, but certainly as man is now, these desires are perpetually frustrated.

It is here that the historian comes to our aid. The ideal of the

* This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Society, held at Marymount College, New York City, November 3, 1958. Father Weigel, a graduate of the Gregorian University in Rome, was dean of the faculty of theology of the Catholic University of Chile before taking up his present position as professor of ecclesiology at Woodstock College, Maryland. He is the author of *Faustus of Riete* and *Catholic Primer of the Ecumenical Movement*.

historian is to see human existence as a whole. The ideal is universally attractive, and that is why every man is a bit of an historian. The historian has even given a word to the totality of human existence, and even more widely, to all of cosmic existence. He brackets the totality and says that he can substitute for this bracket the symbol history. History is the first flower that ever sprouted on this earth. History is the first bubble that spluttered on Mars. In a sense history is the last groan of the last living thing anywhere in the universe.

Of course when we understand history in this way, we are dealing with an abstraction. Under the pressure of the unconquerable drive to unity in vision, rather than from any experience of it, we simply declare finite existence to be one, even though it be in flux. It is the spirit's refusal to make plurality the primary concept. We must begin, whether we like it or not, with the insight, beyond proof and without need of it, that reality is one.

This initial meaning of history is also the prime source of confusion. What happened is history. But so much has happened, and the individual has experienced so little of it. Yet he carries around images of "what happened." These images, the product of personal experience, converse with others, reading and cultural conditioning, float free in consciousness. They cannot be strongly bound to the events by anything like immediate experience. The result is that there is an antecedent persuasion that such and such "happened," not just happened to me but happened in itself. Yet this persuasion leaves us uneasy. We are compelled to ask if the persuasion is rationally justified.

It is at this point that the historian leaves history and offers me historiography. It is unfortunate that the word history is so loosely used. History so often means historiography and more often it means what happened. History in the sense of what happened is no more open to the historian than it is to the man of the street. What is absent stays absent to the historian no less than to anyone else. What the historian does is change history into historiography, and there he is lord and master. Unlike the poet and the seer, he wants to tie down the free flowing images of "what happened;" he wants to bind what is free to something secure. He wants to

experience the event, not in its originality but in its vicarious presence in things we can experience.

Parson Weems invented or heard of the story of Washington and the cherry tree. Weems was not an historian but a preacher interested in ethics. He did not tie down the cherry tree image to anything we can experience in our day but rather urged us to tell the truth. He wanted us to tell the truth in the fashion of the Washington legend. Weems was much concerned with truth-telling. He really was not too interested with "what happened" in the life of Washington.

Now the Weems mentality was not peculiar to Parson Weems. All men share it. What happened has significance for me in the light of my own personal concerns. To avoid the Weems unreliability concerning what happened, the historiographers insist that any image of the past must be tied up with something empirically present to us. The image of young Washington chopping the cherry tree must be attached to something Washingtonian in the midst of us. An extant letter of George's father narrating the event would be such a "Washingtonianum." The historian avoids unattached images as much as he can, though he knows that he cannot do so altogether. On principle unattached images are simply relegated to the attic where we store up paraphernalia without use.

In this way our images of the past can be accepted with greater warrant than with the mere persuasion that we can know what happened through the images carried by our culture. Historiography therefore does a great service to humanity. It not only lets us indulge our persuasion that we can know what happened, but it allows us to do so rationally.

The esteem in which historiographers are held is proportionate to a society's interest in what happened. Such interest is never zero, and therefore there is always a place for the historiographer. However, some cultures are extremely interested in what happens and what happened. They are in consequence interested to know how things happened in order to know what happened. Our modern western culture is like that. Fifty years ago the interest was so great that it was believed that knowing meant only a knowledge of events and their genesis. This extreme esteem for historiography we now call historicism, and it is with us no more.

Yet there are and were cultures where esteem for history is and was low. A thinker like Plato thought that an interest in what happens was unworthy of the true man, because man should concentrate on what is timeless, immutable, and necessary. His relative unconcern for history was bolstered by his philosophy of history according to which events are fixed on a turning wheel. There was no great need to fix our attention on points now distant. They will be back again and we can watch them then. The Hindu sages like to consider history as a mere dream. The wide-awake man sees the immutable, and he is undistracted by the whirl of the dream wheel which revolves between man and ultimate reality.

This strange situation affects the Church. She cannot be historicist, nor can she be anti-historical. Yet she always dwells in a culture, and culture can be historicist or anti-historical, and so the Church always finds herself threatened by philosophies of history. The Church always has one foot out of history and one foot in it. She believes that God simply is and He does not happen, and she also believes that the incarnation of God happened in the time of the Virgin Mary and Pontius Pilate, to use the words of Creed.

Now the historian has staked out the realm of what happened as his possession. He finds that the Church claims high domain over his field. He resents that. He is willing enough to have the Church work in the field of what happened, but if she does, she must obey the rules he set up for such action. If she wants to work in another way, she must justify her method by a philosophy of history. This the Church cannot do. She has a theology of history, but never a philosophy. The results are uncomfortable. The historian studies the relics of what happened and then denies that he can find an incarnation of God there. The Church with emphasis insists that the incarnation happened.

In this impasse what can the Catholic historian do? Some historians would say that there can be no Catholic historian, but this position is untenable because there are Catholic historians, and their work is recognized as good by fellow-historians. Only a gratuitous *a priori* postulate can eliminate Catholics from the field. Others urge a double standard of truth on the Catholic historian: he must work in history as if the Catholic Church had no right to speak about history, and in his private religious life he can act as

if history were irrelevant. This position is humanly and logically unacceptable. There are some Catholics, theologians rather than historians, who seem to say that the historian should submit to the high domain of the Church over the historical field and say nothing without her approbation. This solution simply annihilates the legitimacy of the historian's freedom to investigate what happened according to his own rules. He would have to accept rules made by an outsider with no concern for the historian's task. Under those circumstances, who would bother to work in history? It would be simpler to ask the Church what happened, or at least what did not happen, instead of engaging in laborious research of monuments.

All the previous solutions of the question whether a Catholic can be a genuine historian are hopelessly defective. We must look for something more satisfactory. To do so we must enunciate some initial presumptions. First of all, the Church is not concerned with historiography directly. She is, nevertheless, interested in history. Secondly, the rules which the historian has freely set up for his work have a pragmatic justification. They are not laws of nature. They are good because they work, and they need have no other goodness. Actually, the historians continually change their rules at least with regard to subsidiary principles. They do well in so changing if the result is better historical work. All this is the historian's affair, and non-historians have no right to intrude. Thirdly, the historian actually does not claim to give us what happened, but only his deductions concerning what happened from contemplating the relics of the past. He is far too sober to suppose an identity of his deductions with the past happening. He has the well-founded hope that he will be close to what happened, but he does not know how close. He readily admits that much of the original event is unknowable because there is no remnant which is a total picture of the moment he is trying to reconstruct.

Historiography, then, has its limits. It is essentially an attempt at a reconstruction of a bygone fluid moment so that it will be luminous to the time in which the historian works. Now there are modes of construction, and these modes are creatures and molders of a period of culture. Baroque historiography comes from the same moment which gave us baroque churches, and the churches and the historiography of that time both show as much of their day as

they do of a period before their time. That is why no definitive history can ever be written. It has to be done over again in every generation. Man will not stop writing the life and times of Abraham Lincoln just because so much has already been written, and much of it very good. As long as the contemporaries of the historian are fascinated by the figure of Lincoln, Lincoln historiography will continue relevantly to current concern. When will the interest in Lincoln wane and why, are questions which no one can answer definitively before the event. The historian can make enlightened guesses for the future, because what happens is not only past, but present and future as well. Yet there is more light around for the past than there is for the future.

Hence historiography is not at all identical with history. It is rather a not altogether unsatisfactory substitute for it. It makes history tangible for us by proxy, since it can never be tangible in itself. There are always whole dimensions of what happened which must perforce escape the historiographer.

One such dimension is the divine intent in historical events. About it, the historian by his method can say nothing at all. The divine intent will be manifested by God's word to a prophet, and that word is spoken invisibly with no achievable evidence of the colloquy. The very existence of God is something the historian by his method can neither prove nor disprove, because God is and does not happen, and the historian is interested in happening and not in being. Religion is interested in the transhistorical. Christianity believes that the transhistorical God moved into history, but the transhistorical nature of the intrusion makes it impalpable to the formal historiographer. Both the Church and the historiographer will see the event, but the Church sees the divine dimension of it, and she sees it in faith. The historiographer sees the event in the continuum of history and treats it as equivalent to all the other points in the continuum.

It is on the principle of the multiple dimension of reality that we can justify the Catholic's participation in the historiographic task. Truth is not double, but truth has more than one dimension. The painter should not be outlawed from society because he produces two-dimensional images. The sculptor indeed gives us three, but that is no sign of defect in the painter. By dropping out one dimen-

sion, the painter can concentrate on two in a way which will make them more telling. The third dimension is not denied; it is even suggested, for without the suggestion the two dimensions lose their communicability. But the painter does not want to give the third dimension as such because he has freely chosen a medium where it is excluded perforce.

In the light of these general observations we can point out two sins possible to an historiographer. The first consists in denying that there is anything in the event except what the historiographer with his limiting tools finds there. This is not so much a sin against the Church as a sin against the nature of historiography. The denial of the supernatural is unwarranted by the historical method. When it occurs, a metaphysics is usurping rights in historiography, which obviously is not its true field.

The Catholic historian will not commit this first sin. He may be prone to another. By his faith he will know that a certain event has divine meaning, and he will try to tear the event out of the historical continuum in an attempt to isolate its divinity. With the tools of historiography he cannot do so. His art or science does not capacitate him for such action. Only a kind of perception different from that allowed in historiography can see the divine. If metaphysics cannot usurp historiographic rights, neither can theology.

These principles were clearly recognized by Pope Pius XII in the encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. That the triune God created the world and all that is in it is the divine burden of the first eleven chapters of Genesis. This is the faith of the Church illuminating the divine dimension of ancient Hebrew historiography. But Hebrew historiography followed the modes of its milieu. The biblical authors wrote history much differently than we do. They mixed up reporting with divine interpretation, and they and their public were not too preoccupied with the accuracy of their reporting. Divine meaning was their primary goal. The book of Genesis itself is an event in history, and it is with us yet thanks to literary transmission. The historian can examine this event in the light of the relics at hand. He can show that much of it was derived from this or that source in other histories. He can show the rules by which the author of Genesis proceeded. He can

show how the account differs from modern constructions of the data presumed in the biblical book. In other words, the historian is treating Genesis as a truly human product, leaving out all discussion of the divine dimension of it. He does well in his approach, because the book of Genesis is a human event. The divine level of it he leaves to others, but he has not blasphemed because he gives us a human understanding of a human phenomenon. That more can be done is no shortcoming in him who refuses to do the more in his attempt to do well what is less.

What remains to be said is exhortation. Most Catholic historians feel confident in the legitimacy and genuinity of their work. They approach a task of investigation with the same degree of freedom and lack of inhibition which characterizes their non-Catholic colleagues. They understand well the difference of dimensions in an event, and they know that they have restricted themselves to the human dimension. Because of the faith that is in them, they will unconsciously suggest the divine dimension which they know through faith. This kind of suggestion is inevitable, and the non-Catholic makes a similar unconscious suggestion when he writes.

Yet there are some Catholic historians who write with an ill-concealed nervousness. They are obsessed with the need of "defending the faith." They hedge and stammer when they talk of certain events, lest the Church be misunderstood. They are always thinking of the weak in faith and will say nothing which might scandalize the little ones. In some we note a real conspiracy of silence so that certain events be not known. The ultimate result will be very bad, because some one not of the faith will discover the evidence and bring it forth in a way which will scandalize the little ones even more.

One often hears references to the message of Leo XIII on the occasion of the opening of the Vatican archives to all scholars. He said in effect that the Church had nothing to fear from the truth. He was much too wise to think that the truth would always be what we wanted it to be, and he was wise enough to see that truth, even when we dislike it, will produce us no harm.

The love of God is the love of truth. Historical truth is a participation in divine truth and we all should love it, for it, in the words of the Savior, will make us free. The Catholic historian

should be saturated with this love. Under its direction he can tell us, who are not of his fraternity, much liberating truth, and he will serve us well in giving us more and more.

In consequence the Catholic historian's preoccupation should not be apologetic, a dedication to the criticism of the work of others. His attitude should be altogether positive with an interest to give us relevant reconstructions of what happened in the past. Some people may not like to see how things were because they childishly think that this Church of human beings on this earth should show the action we might expect of angels. Such people refuse to take seriously the Catholic doctrine of original sin. In faith we can see the Church as the Body of Christ, our God and Lord, but without faith the Church does not look that way. Christ warned us that scandals indeed must come, but woe to him from whom the scandal comes. (Luke, 17,1.) To paint the church as existing without scandals is to do her a disservice, because she would not be the Church which Christ promised, and the Church insists that she is the Church of the Promise.

There is a mentality among some Catholics which will not tolerate the description of the Church as anything but absolutely perfect, without spot or wrinkle. These men with much anger will fall on the Catholic historian who portrays the Church with her grime, warts, wrinkles and all. They will admit only candied photos. Such men and women can be a cross to the Catholic historian, but he has no reason to believe that his work as an historian removes him from the universal vocation of carrying the cross. He should rather conceive of his historical work as his Catholic vocation inspiring him to do historical work as rigorously as possible. We cannot admire the men who seem to have an itch to present only the scandals, but we certainly can admire the men who painstakingly and with candor paint events in the light of what is left to our time, so that good and bad come forth with the many colors of Joseph's robe.

One of the great needs of the Church in our time is more and better historiography constructed with a total dedication to historical method. This need only the Catholic historians can meet, and from them we expect positive, creative work. It is the pious hope of Catholics that our historians will not fail us.

THE CATHOLIC PUBLICATION SOCIETY
AND ITS SUCCESSORS
1866-1916

BY PAUL J. FULLAM, C.P.*

THIS is the story of a failure. It is the story of an ambition that was never fulfilled, but one that was so broad in concept and so diligently pursued that even in failure, it accomplished more than most men's ambitions accomplish in success. It is the story of three men, different in character, in talents, in social position, who, nevertheless, devoted themselves to the accomplishment of this task and by their very diversity brought it what success it achieved.

Father Isaac T. Hecker, founder of the Paulist Fathers, was the planner, the pleader, the man of vision. His brother George, like himself a convert to Catholicism, gave freely of his business talents and of his own wealth to see that this dream was given every chance to succeed. Lawrence Kehoe, gruff, sceptical yet honest and with a tremendous capacity for work, used his keen, practical skill in the art of publishing to make the plan a landmark in American Catholic publishing. Together these three undertook the chief 19th-century effort to establish a national, non-profit Catholic publication society.

The idea was not new. It had been tried at least twice before. As far back as 1827, the Reverend (later Bishop) John Hughes of Philadelphia had just such a notion:

This was the establishment of a tract society in Philadelphia, to be supported by voluntary contributions. The society was to publish in a cheap and attractive form, short religious essays, chiefly of a controversial character and sell them at cost price to such of the clergy as might feel disposed to distribute them gratis among the people. He commenced the enterprise by preparing an antidote to an English protestant tale, which had lately been republished in Philadelphia and very widely circulated . . . The success of "Andrew Dunn" was much greater than that of the project from which it sprang. It seems to have been the first fruit and the last of the association for the purpose of circulating cheap controversial tracts from which so much was expected.¹

* Father Fullam is librarian at Holy Cross Seminary, Dunkirk, New York.

¹ John Rose Greene Hassard, *The Most Reverend John Hughes D.D.*, p. 77.

How completely it failed may be imagined from Father, now Archbishop, Hughes' reaction to similar plans in his later years. In a letter to a friend in Rome, intended for the eyes of the Propaganda, he speaks as follows of the conductors of the American section of the Catholic press:

As they become more numerous and more acquainted with Catholics, especially young men born in this country, they imagined themselves an auxiliary corps to aid the bishops and clergy in propagating the Catholic doctrine among the protestants of the United States, whom they professed to know by heart. Their general idea for the accomplishment of this was a combination of lay elements to aid indirectly in the work of the ministry. Their reliance was principally on the "press"; but in connection with it, on 'associations,' which they have tried and which have all failed . . . I did not especially approve of any of these; but I gave permission for the several experiments from which they anticipated so much benefit to religion.²

Ten years after this early attempt, the pastoral letter of the Third Provincial Council of Baltimore shows that the assembled hierarchy were very much aware of the need of a strong Catholic press and were determined to do something about it:

We have formed ourselves into a society for the production and dissemination of books useful to the cause of truth and of virtue, leaving to each prelate its adaptation to the peculiar circumstances of his own diocese, but committing for the present the administration of its general affairs chiefly to the Archbishop, who as soon as his leisure will permit, will proceed to execute what he has undertaken.³

The results were neither immediate nor of long duration, but were evidently of a high quality, as attested by a Catholic historian not too long after the event:

The Catholic Tract Society of Baltimore, which commenced its monthly publications in 1839, and continued them for five or six years, deserves honorable mention as having produced some of the best essays that we possess in vindication of the true faith.⁴

² *Ibid.*, p. 384.

³ Peter Guilday, *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy*, p. 115.

⁴ Joseph E. Darras, *A General History of the Catholic Church*, IV, 693.

The reason why the Baltimore Tract Society ceased operation is not clear. It certainly was not because the need for such an organization was not felt. As late as 1854, we find Bishop Spalding of Louisville writing sadly to Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore:

Whilst the Methodists and other sectarians have their vast book-concerns and all-pervading tract organizations, it is a shame that we children of light should be so inert. Let a Catholic institute be established with its headquarters at Baltimore, the bishops all to be honorary members, and Dr. Ives to be secretary, charged with the publication of books and tracts.⁵

Nothing was done at the time but when Spalding was Archbishop of Baltimore a dozen years later, his enthusiastic support was to be a substantial help to the founding of the Catholic Publication Society.

Although things may have been at a standstill in this country and later submerged in the all consuming efforts of the Civil War, abroad there was much activity. Pope Pius IX established a publication society for the city of Rome in 1856. At the same time he encouraged the proper use of literary talents:

We did not fail, again and again, to urge men who were endowed with piety, ability and sound doctrine, that principally, each man under the guidance of his own bishop, should by their writings defend our most august religion, refute its assailants, detect, expose and overthrow the many monstrous prodigies of their opinions and enlighten with truth the minds of unwary men and of inexperienced youth, which may be moulded like wax in an evil direction.⁶

In 1864, as the result of a Catholic Congress held at Wurzburg, there was founded a "Society for the Publication of Catholic Pamphlets." The scheme was well received in Germany. Although it began in a small way, its promoters expected to have by the end of 1865 as many as 25,000 subscribers.⁷ These foreign efforts

⁵ Spalding to Kenrick, quoted in John L. Spalding, *The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding*, p. 342.

⁶ Papal Brief of February 12, 1856, quoted in *Circular of Catholic Publication Society*, p. 20.

⁷ Andrew Niedermasser, "Catholic Congresses," *Catholic World*, II (Dec. 1865), 347.

had more than a merely coincidental influence on Father Hecker, as we know from the prominence he was to give them in the *Catholic World* and later in the circulars of his new society. All of these movements were confirming in the mind of Father Hecker what he would later express as a conviction: "The special battlefield of attack and defence of truth for half a century to come is the printing press."⁸

Various Protestant groups had long believed this and acted upon their conviction. The *American Tract Society*, but one of several strong and vigorous Protestant publishing houses, gives some idea of the magnitude of its operations in the summary of its annual report contained in the *American Literary Gazette*:

... has issued in all 141 new publications of which 37 are volumes, and has printed during the year 726,880 volumes or 2,420 per day; 7,898,142 publications. Total printing in forty one years 21,740,673 volumes, 279,367,055 publications. Printed of the *American Messenger* 154,167 monthly, *Bot-schafter* or 'Messenger' in German 29,375; *Child's Paper* 308,666; total periodicals 492,208 monthly. Publications on the societys list 3,658 of which 728 are volumes, besides 3,750 in 141 languages approved for circulation abroad. Gratuitous distribution for the year, \$59,953.⁹

Looking around at the Catholic Church in the United States, one would have had every right to have expected an equally vigorous press. An article printed in the *Civiltà Cattolica* and reprinted in translation in the *Catholic World* gives an encouraging picture of an expanding church, very much alive to the needs of its environment and beginning to show signs of that generosity that was to become so characteristic of it in the years to come:

Nowhere has the Catholic Church increased so prosperously within the last fifty years as in the United States of America. Above 2,000 churches and chapels built; an increase of 1,800 clergymen; 160 schools established for the Catholic training of 18,000 boys and 34,600 girls. Moreover, there existed in 1857, 66 asylums, with 4,963 orphans of both sexes; 26 hospitals with 3,000 beds; 4 insane asylums, with 82 patients besides many other charitable institutions, all established and supported by the private charity of Catholics.¹⁰

⁸ Walter Elliot, *The Life of Father Hecker*, p. 349.

⁹ *American Literary Gazette*, VII (May 15, 1866), 33.

¹⁰ *Catholic World*, II (Jan. 1866), 494.

From the point of view of size and coverage, it was a very promising picture, but unfortunately the Catholic press of the time did not match the needs of the Church. While there were a number of Catholic publishers, they were all operating on a small and rather timorous scale. Most specialized in prayer books and books of devotion and in books on Irish-American affairs, giving a curious inbred flavor to the intellectual life of the "reading" Catholic. The German Catholic press also became significant in the post-Civil War period. Of almost 300 titles issued in book and pamphlet form between 1856 and 1880, the majority were prayer manuals and works of spiritual reading.¹¹ Not only were they disappointing in this their special field but they completely ignored the missionary aspects of the press as pointed out in the words of Pope Pius IX quoted above. Father Hecker saw the difficulty and soon called attention to it:

We all feel how important it is that every Catholic should be thoroughly intelligent upon all that he is required to believe, and the reasons that exist for requiring it. In every class of society Catholics are called upon to render an account of the faith that is in them, to explain the doctrines and ceremonies of their religion, and when unable to do so, they both suffer the evil consequences of this ignorance themselves and, by it, retard the spread of the knowledge of the truth among those whom the church is equally commissioned to enlighten, guide and save.¹²

Father Hecker was not a man to see a need that he could remedy and yet spare himself on the ground of previous commitments. Although he was the Superior of a new Religious Congregation, busily engaged in preaching and lecturing, and very much occupied with the fledgling *Catholic World*, he thought that there should be a more comprehensive type of Catholic publishing endeavor. He wrote to Archbishop Spalding in Baltimore and received not only an encouraging reply but one that went so far as to presume the need for organizational details:

¹¹ M. Justina Grothe, "German Catholic Publishing and Book Distribution within the U.S. from 1865 to 1880." (Washington, D. C., Catholic University of America, unpublished M.A. dissertation, 1950), p. 82.

¹² "Prospectus of the Catholic Publication Society," *Catholic World*, III (May 1866), 278.

Baltimore, January 18, 1866.

Rev. I. T. Hecker, C.S.P.

Rev. Dear Friend:

I will most cheerfully cooperate with you in any judicious plan for establishing a Catholic Tract Society. I would unite with your worthy and wise Archbishop, in standing sponsor for the organization, which should publish only such tracts as would be approved by the Ordinary, and their subjects or tracts should be agreed upon and published in New York, which is most central for printing and publishing books and tracts.

I would suggest that all the bishops of the country be appointed honorary members, that others clergy and laity be invited to become annually paying or life members, for each of which a tariff should be established.

Truly yours in Christ,
M. J. Spalding
Abp. Baltimore

The life membership might be fixed at \$50, and the annual at \$5, payable in tracts at wholesale.¹³

The plan did not remain long in the stage of mere possibility. By March 6, 1866, Father Hecker had the official approval of the Archbishop of New York to begin its actual organization. Archbishop McCloskey was generous in his approval and did not put any restrictions on the work, which by now even had a name:

In the confident hope that the "Catholic Publication Society" will be highly serviceable in aiding to promote the cause of truth and in disseminating more widely the principles of sound morality, we give it our full approval and invoke Gods blessing on all who will help to sustain and encourage it.¹⁴

Within a week Father Hecker had made plans for the first tract and before another week was out had received it from Archbishop Spalding:

Pittsburg, March 19, 1866.

Rev. Dear Friend,

I received your letter as I was starting from this place, as you will perceive from the enclosure how prompt I have been in complying with your request. I trust the tract may do.

¹³ Hecker Papers, Paulist Fathers' Archives (hereafter PFA), Jan. 18, 1866, XLVIII.

¹⁴ Hecker papers, PFA, XLVIII, March 6, 1866.

As it was written here under disadvantages, I beg you to revise it carefully, supplying the verse in the Scriptural quotations, (which please verify correctly as I quoted from memory), which perhaps had better be placed at the foot of the page. It would be well in the next issue of the prospectus to request all the bishops to appoint a clergyman in each diocese, or even in every large town or city, to look after the interests of the Society. I subjoin my recommendations and remain,

Faithfully yours in Christ,
M. J. Spalding,
Abp. of Baltimore.¹⁵

The May 1866 issue of the *Catholic World* carried a "Prospectus" of the Catholic Publication Society, in it, we can see the plan crystalizing, becoming more specific and detailed:

. . . every age has possessed intellectual features peculiar to itself, . . . popular instruction today, to be successful, must be simplified and condensed, rendered suitable to popular apprehension and fixed at a point demanding the least amount of mental labor and promising immediate and tangible results.

A Society has been formed and its work has already begun, styled "The Catholic Publication Society." This society proposes to issue short tracts and pamphlets conveying that species of instruction required by Catholics, in the most entertaining form, so as to engage the attention, affect the hearts and suit the wants of all classes.¹⁶

It goes on to enumerate some of the classes that the Society will try to reach. The poor, who deserve help because of their very defenselessness, might be taught through a simple narrative or dialogue some important practical truths that would be of good service in time of temptation. The young men who drift to the cities and are very difficult to reach by ordinary means might be reached by a publication. The unstable minds that are always found in times of much intellectual activity might become convinced of the errors of their whole philosophical system if the truth is properly presented. Now that prejudices of long standing were being opened to scrutiny there was a chance to spread the truth or at least to disarm that prejudice. One of the objects of the society was to supply religious reading matter to the inmates of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 19, 1866.

¹⁶ *Catholic World*, III (May 1866), 278-280.

hospitals, almshouses, asylums and prisons, a class of persons whose spiritual welfare needs special care. After enumerating the several classes that the Society hoped to reach with its publications, the prospectus makes a direct appeal for funds:

What is here proposed is truly a missionary work. Efforts of this kind can only be successful by zealous labor and generous support. Almost everyone can lend a helping hand . . . the sum of five dollars constitutes a member for one year . . . the sum of thirty dollars constitutes a member for five years and of fifty dollars a life member. A number of patrons (of one hundred and five hundred dollars) have already come forward in the city of New York and subscribed that amount to constitute a fund to enable the Society to accomplish its missionary work and we are sure that this call will elicit a similar ready response from many in other cities and towns.¹⁷

After mentioning in passing that even prelates had become patrons, that it would be a gesture of appreciation to one's parish priest to enroll him in the society, and that parents would gratify their children and give them a sense of responsibility by enrolling them, it concludes with what clearly shows the definitely missionary aim of the Society:

While treating of the practical part of this subject, we desire to say that priests residing in the remote parts of the country can be furnished with the society's publications on precisely the same terms as those living near at hand. They will be supplied at prices never exceeding cost, postage prepaid. All Catholics in every section of our land have an equal interest in its success.¹⁸

That Father Hecker was not content to wait for the money to come to him but was active in soliciting donations, anxious as he was to begin the work that now had a real association with his missionary vocation, appears in the following letter:

Office of Wm. and Jh. O'Brien
No. 58 Wall Street
New York, April 18, 1866

Rev. I. T. Hecker
Dear Sir,

We have been informed of your visit to our house on Monday evening, by our sisters, and the object of the call.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 282.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 283.

We think favorably of the movement, sure of the opinion that the circulation of tracts in the way you mention will be productive of much good.

Herewith we hand you our check for five hundred dollars which we understand will constitute us "two poor disciples."

\$250 a/c of Wm. O'Brien.

\$250 a/c of Jh. O'Brien.

The frequent demands upon us, preventing our becoming "Apostles," although we hope to attain that distinction one of these days.

Wishing you success in the undertaking we are,

Very truly your friends
Wm. and Jh. O'Brien.¹⁹

Encouragement came also from another source. The big news in the book world in April of 1866 was that of the Spring Trade Book Sale:

This was the largest Spring sale but one ever held in the United States and it was successful beyond the anticipations of all interested. The receipts amounted to over \$200,000 in the aggregate.²⁰

While the news was good, the attitude of the publishing trade was definitely frigid. While the May issue of the *American Literary Gazette*, the trade journal of those days, diligently records all the moves of the book trade in New York, it never even mentions the Catholic Publication Society except in passing. It was the policy of the *Gazette* to list all periodicals received together with their contents. The announcement of the C.P.S.²¹ is faithfully recorded as an article in the *Catholic World*, but if the editorial diligence did more than record the title no mention was made of it. If Father Hecker was disturbed by this or was even aware of it, he certainly did not show it. In July the *Catholic World* came out quite plainly with a statement by Orestes Brownson of the still growing ambition of the publishing project:

We are numerous enough and strong enough in all religious, literary and scientific matters to suffice for ourselves. There is no reason in the world, but our own spiritual indolence and

¹⁹ Hecker papers, PFA, XXI, 15.

²⁰ *American Literary Gazette*, VI (April 16, 1866), 332.

²¹ This abbreviation will be regularly used for the Catholic Publication Society.

the torpidity of our consciences, why we should continue to feed on the unwholesome literary garbage provided for us by the humanitarianism and pruriency of the age. We are able to have a general literature of our own, the product of genuine Catholic taste and genius, if we will it and at present are better able than the Catholics of any other nation; for our means are ample and the government and civil institutions place no obstacles in our way, which can be said of Catholics nowhere else.²²

The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore was to be held in the autumn of the year, and Father Hecker realized that there could be no better way of winning national recognition for the Society than by obtaining official approval at the Council. This he planned to do:

I have for the Council next Wednesday three things at heart—1. making the Tract Society a national institution; 2. Starting a Catholic book concern; 3. a congress of laymen to utilize lay action in the church. The 1st is quite certain—the second probable. The third depends on prayer.²³

When the Council convened, he was appointed to the seventh congregation, whose function it was to report, among other things, on books and periodicals.²⁴ It was before this congregation that he read a paper on the necessity of the Catholic Publication Society.²⁵ Besides marshalling all the arguments that he had used so effectively up until now, he became very explicit as to just what would be involved and just how it would be accomplished. Regarding money, he pointed out that in New York City alone \$20,000 had been subscribed. If a like response was received from the other Catholic cities of the country the work would flourish:

The Society must own types, press and the machinery of a publishing house. Printed matter must be published on a large scale to do it cheaply. Steam presses, with other presses that will be required, types that will be required and the fitting up of bindery, and the store and other fixtures will cost from 30 to 40 thousand dollars. The payment of rents, the wages of the workmen and the purchase of sufficient amount of paper to

²² *Catholic World*, III (July 1866), 472.

²³ Hecker papers, PFA, Miscellaneous Correspondence, XIIIa, Sept. 25, 1866.

²⁴ *Concilio Plenarii Baltimorensis II, Acta et Decreta*, p. xlix.

²⁵ Richard Walsh, *Father Hecker and the Catholic Press*, p. 69.

stock up the concern until sales began to come in sufficiently to keep it going, requires 30 to 40 thousand more. Making the largest allowance from 75 to 100,000 capital may be required to place the enterprise on a certain, secure and permanent footing.

This capital will not be required at once. One third of it at the start. The other third in six months and the last third probably not in eighteen months if at all. These estimates are based on enquiries made of men in the business, and in detail. The \$20,000 subscribed already will go far towards making the first installments.

Once started, the Society will furnish books and other reading matter at half at least of present retail prices for the same, and at the same time pay all its own expenses. Once started, the society will sustain itself.²⁶

His enthusiasm and directness won the support of the Council, in the pastoral letter issued at its close, under the section "On Books and Newspapers—The Press":

In connection with this matter, we earnestly recommend to the faithful of our charge the Catholic Publication Society, lately established in the city of New York by a zealous and devoted clergyman. Besides the issuing of short tracts, with which this society has begun, and which may be so usefully employed to arrest the attention of many whom neither inclination nor leisure will allow to read larger works, this Society contemplates the publication of Catholic books, according as circumstances may permit, and the interests of religion appear to require. From the judgement and good taste evinced in the composition and selection of such tracts and books as have already been issued by this Society, we are encouraged to hope that it will be eminently effective in making known the truths of our Holy Religion, and dispelling the prejudices which are mainly owing to want of information on the part of so many of our fellow-citizens. For this it is necessary that a generous co-operation be given, both by clergy and laity, to the undertaking, which is second to none in importance, among the subsidiary aids which the inventions of modern times supply to our Ministry for the diffusion of Catholic Truth.²⁷

²⁶ Hecker Papers, PFA, Report on the Catholic Publication Society read at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore.

²⁷ *Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis II, Acta et Decreta*, p. cxxvi.

Father Hecker was overjoyed at his success and the splendid future he envisaged for the work:

The Catholic Publication Society has the unanimous consent and sympathy and co-operation of the entire episcopate and clergy. Every year, there is a collection to be taken up in the principal churches for its support. I have drawn an elephant, but I do not feel like the man who did not know what to do with him after he got him.²⁸

The only remaining step necessary to complete and implement the plan was the actual formation of a "Society." The details were all worked out and embodied in a "Circular to the Catholic Clergy and People of the United States Concerning the Catholic Publication Society." The object of the C.P.S. was ". . . to diffuse more widely Catholic truth by the publication and distribution of books, pamphlets, tracts and other reading matter adapted to this end."²⁹

The Archbishop of New York was to be Ex-officio President of the Society, the other Archbishops ex-officio vice-presidents, and all the bishops honorary members, a point that Archbishop Spalding had several times urged. There was to be an annual meeting in New York at which a board of directors (seven) was to be elected for the ensuing year. They in turn were to appoint an executive committee consisting of two clergymen and one layman who were to meet monthly or more often if expedient. They were also to appoint a secretary, a treasurer, and such other agents as it would be necessary to employ. These last were to be subject to the direction, order, and control of the executive committee. To safeguard orthodoxy the fourth bylaw provided that, "Before publication, all tracts, pamphlets, etc. shall be submitted to the revision of a priest appointed by the Archbishop of New York."³⁰ The circular also stated that the Society would be placed on a permanent basis by an act of incorporation.

Apart from the strong clerical tinge which the Society exhibited, necessarily so if it was to have official status, there was a realistic appreciation of the role that the laity would have to play if the Society was to be a success. One of the reasons for having an

²⁸ Hecker Papers, PFA, XIIIa, Oct. 29, 1866.

²⁹ *Circular to the Catholic Clergy and People of the United States concerning the Catholic Publication Society*, p. 31.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

American Catholic Publication Society was the inability of the clergy, on account of their disproportionately small number, to reach and instruct the numerous population by word of mouth. This was especially dangerous for the young. Sunday Schools were formed to instruct them, but there were not half enough books to use for suitable instruction. Consequently the Society could not be content with publishing but must adapt itself to supplying the Catholics of the country with religious reading in a cheap popular form. This it planned to do by the formation of auxiliary societies or by being adopted as the apostolate of some already existing society or association. For the convenience of enquirers an organizational form was suggested called "The Christian Doctrine Society" and appended to the circular. Article II of its constitution described the work of the Society :

The object shall be twofold—first to aid the Catholic Publication Society in the diffusion of Catholic doctrine by contributing to its fund for the publication and distribution of Catholic books, pamphlets, tracts and any other of its publications, etc ; second, to instruct the children of this parish in the Christian doctrine, to provide and distribute suitable religious readings among the destitute around us, and otherwise assist our pastor in the missionary work under his charge.³¹

Membership was to be open to all who received approval of the pastor or director. The requisites for membership were simply enrollment and payment of an annual fee of \$1. Each year the pastor was to appoint an executive committee of six and each month a visiting committee of six ; he himself was to be ex-officio chairman of both committees. The executive committee was to provide a supply of publications for distribution while the chief function of the visiting committee would be to gather the children for Sunday school instruction. There was to be a monthly meeting at which reports would be read and plans discussed, a collection would be taken up, and it would close with a prayer for the conversion of the United States. Each month Mass was to be offered for all the members both living and deceased.

In less than a year, Father Hecker had nourished the idea of a Catholic Publication Society from the first faint glimmer of pos-

³¹ *Ibid.*, Constitution of the Christian Doctrine Society, Article II.

sibility to a detailed plan of operation. He had received not only permission of his own bishop to make his attempt, but had won the approval of a plenary council, and had even begun operations. He had lectured, written, and made personal appeals for support of the Society and had amassed what for those days was a substantial amount of cash toward beginning operations. He had formulated a vast network of auxiliary associations to support and serve as distribution agencies for the new publications. That such an operation should cause consternation among Catholic publishers is understandable:

Barclay St. had never regarded with good will the advent among its semi-sanctified limits of this alien and alleged high-brow publication society innovation. Indeed it was set down as an invasion of vested rights and after due consideration of the situation, a committee of the elect was appointed to call on Archbishop McCloskey and point out to him the iniquity and injustice of clerical intrusion into a time-honored lay business circle. The gentle, amiable Archbishop poured diplomatic balm on their lacerated feelings and they returned to old Pater Noster Row for further broodings over what seemed an impending calamity.³²

It would be interesting to know what the Archbishop told them. One can be sure he used a favorite formula—wait and see.

As the plan of the Catholic Publication Society began to take shape, Father Hecker realized that he would need someone to take charge of the business end of the operation. He also realized that he had just the man working for him already as the manager, or as he so often signed himself the "general agent," for the *Catholic World*, Mr. Lawrence Kehoe. Kehoe was the picture of an ideal business manager, middle aged, stocky, with a high narrow forehead, steel grey eyes, and dark complexion; one had only to see him to be aware of competence.³³ He was frank in speech and somewhat brusque in manner, and one had only to hear him to

³² *Catholic World*, CLI (April 1940), 34.

³³ Kehoe-Hammond Papers, Notre Dame Archives, III, Passport (hereafter KHP, NDA.). From the microfilm copy at Catholic University of America Library.

sense the tremendous drive of the man.³⁴ Kehoe had other qualifications as well: experience, ability, industry, and good taste, as the dozen or so books that he had already edited, with favorable notice from the press, proved. The only known biography written shortly after his death in the *Illustrated Catholic Family Annual of 1891*, gives us some of the vital statistics. He was born in Ireland on July 24, 1832. When he was fourteen he emigrated with his parents to Quebec. They shortly thereafter migrated to the States and settled in the town of Granville, Washington County, New York:

Here Lawrence worked for a while at farming; afterwards he was employed in a village store; in 1852, he came to New York City where he engaged with the firm of Perigo and Buckley, a dry-goods and notion house. Here he remained until 1857, when he entered the publishing house of D. & J. Sadlier, where he acquired his first experience in the book trade. He soon became a contributor to the New York *Tablet*, then owned by the Sadliers and afterwards became its editor. During the Civil War, the *Tablet* was a staunch supporter of the Federal Government in its struggle against the Confederacy. Mr. Kehoe being an ardent abolitionist, Unionist and Republican, by pen and word zealously upheld the cause of the North.³⁵

Father Hecker had given him charge of the *Catholic World*, but it was not the kind of thing that could absorb all his talents or satisfy his needs. Kehoe wrote to Orestes Brownson, for whom he had once been agent:

What do you think about my taking a situation in the custom house? Could I get one that I could attend to and attend to this magazine also? This affair will not take up all my time and will not be able at present, if it ever is, to pay me enough to live upon. My expenses are great and I have little faith in Catholic publications. I have spent eight years—the best years of my life at such business and what have I got? I am poorer than when I went in.³⁶

Management of the C.P.S. was a job that would take all his time. It was a good choice and Father Hecker never had cause to regret it:

³⁴ "Lawrence Kehoe," *Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1891*, p. 36.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³⁶ Thomas F. Meehan, "A Fellow-traveler, 1865-1940," *Catholic World*, CLI (April 1942), 32.

Mr. Kehoe had an extraordinary capacity for continuous labor and for a quarter of a century, he did not spare himself but toiled, early and late, in season and out of season, always with unflagging enthusiasm, in the interests of good Catholic literature. He had a hearty love for good books and a strong dislike for bad ones. Though not what was termed a scholarly man he yet was a wide reader, being especially well informed in the history of the church in America. Enjoying a wide acquaintance with the Catholic bishops, clergy and laity of the country, he always maintained that the best Catholic literature was what they wanted—the best inside and out.³⁷

Kehoe would need all his energy for the busy years ahead. The movement was barely begun when the first tract was issued: "The first Catholic tract of the Catholic Publication Society was issued in May 1866 and was contributed by the Archbishop of Baltimore."³⁸

Before the month was out, three more had appeared.³⁹ By the end of the first year, the number of tracts was up to twenty. During the last month alone 100,000 copies had been issued, bringing the year's total to 1,000,000, of which 700,000 had been put in circulation. Various groups had distributed 60,000 of them gratis.⁴⁰ Midway through 1869 the Society was putting out a total of thirty-seven tracts, and printings were up from 1500 to 10,000.⁴¹ In 1871 the Society announced that it was producing forty-five tracts and had printed 2,250,000 copies in all, tens of thousands of which had been distributed gratis.⁴² This barrage of Catholic "propaganda" was having its effect:

In this city alone, one gentleman paid for the printing and distribution of over 100,000 copies of the tract, *Is It Honest?* This tract was distributed in the city railcars and at the different ferries, and on every line of public travel from New York City. Though only four pages of large type, or about twelve hundred words in all, it attracted and still attracts, much mention from the protestant ministers and the protestant press. One minister published what he called an answer to it, which contained over fifty pages of printed matter, or about

³⁷ "Lawrence Kehoe," p. 34.

³⁸ *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for 1871*, p. 80.

³⁹ *Catholic World*, XII (Nov. 1870), 284.

⁴⁰ *Circular to the Catholic Clergy and People*, p. 22.

⁴¹ Walsh, *Father Hecker*, p. 87.

⁴² *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for 1871*, p. 80.

fifteen times more matter than the tract. The magazines and reviews had something to say about it also.⁴³

By the end of 1871 the Society was selling *Fifty Catholic Tracts on Various Subjects* in a paper bound edition which the publishers asserted was "the cheapest book ever published." It sold for sixty cents and deserved to be "universally circulated."

Circulation apparently was not a problem. Tracts were given away in the city prisons, the penitentiary, workhouse, hospitals, and other places in the city, and in the state prisons at Sing-Sing and Clinton. They went to the Brooklyn Navy Yard for the "school-ships," whence they were carried to the various squadrons, and to Army stations in South Carolina, Texas, and New Mexico, as well as to some of the "soldiers-homes" which had a large proportion of Catholics.⁴⁴

While circulation may not have presented any great difficulty, finances were beginning to be a strain:

The Society sells these tracts at fifty cents per hundred and has packages of the assorted tracts, containing 100 always done up ready for delivery. For every 100 tracts sold by the society for fifty cents, there is a loss of about four cents, as these tracts cost on the average, over fifty four cents for every 100 published. Therefore, when the Society receives an order to send 100 tracts by mail—and it gets several such orders every day—it actually loses fourteen cents, as the postage (10 cents) must be paid by the society, and in no case so far has the person ordering tracts added the cost of postage to the price of them. Taking this loss into account, with the actual loss in manufacturing them, and thousands that are distributed gratis to the institutions named above, it amounts to several thousand dollars per year. The Society is therefore in the full sense of the word, doing a missionary work, and it appeals to all Catholics, clergy and laity, to aid this great work by liberal contributions.⁴⁵

A series of fees had been set up for Patrons, Life-Members, Five-Year Members, and One-Year Members, with specified dues and regular receipt of tracts, but this alone would never sustain the work. Writing in the *Catholic World*, Father Hecker made a plea for systematic and organized support:

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

It is plain however, that while many will be found to associate themselves as members of the general society, in order to carry on the work in other places, auxiliary societies should be formed which receive all the publications at cost price. It is to the rapid formation of the Auxiliary associations that those many zealous friends of the work should turn their attention. The same object will also be gained by making it one of the labors of Societies of St. Vincent de Paul, guilds, confraternities, sodalities and the like.⁴⁶

The appeal met with at least one response, from its enthusiastic supporter, Archbishop Spalding. In a pastoral letter to the people of his diocese he included, along with mention of some pressing needs of the diocese, a strong and flattering recommendation of the Catholic Publication Society:

We earnestly exhort all pastors of souls to establish in their respective parishes as soon as may be, auxiliary societies, for aiding the parent society, for widely diffusing its publications. The precise plan for organizing these local societies is left to the wisdom of the respective pastors.⁴⁷

The "local societies" idea never quite caught on. One such group that was established in the Paulist Fathers' own church in New York gives an idea of what might have been accomplished. In the first four months of its existence it donated \$400 to the parent society and distributed over 12,000 tracts.⁴⁸ The work never completely halted and by 1881, when the number of tracts published was seventy-three, four million copies had been made and distributed.⁴⁹

While the work was well done and in proportion to previous Catholic attempts was enormous in volume, a better perspective emerges from realization that the Methodist Book Concern was putting out over 1,000 tracts and that the Boston Tract Society was producing 1,350,000 pages a year.⁵⁰

In 1867 Father Hecker went to Europe for the purpose of establishing relations with the chief Catholic publishing houses

⁴⁶ *Catholic World*, V (April 1867), 143.

⁴⁷ *Pastoral Letter of the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore*, May 1, 1867.

⁴⁸ *Circular to the Catholic Clergy and People*, p. 26.

⁴⁹ *Seventy-Three Catholic Tracts on Various Subjects*, Preface.

⁵⁰ *Catholic World*, XII (Dec. 1870), 401.

of England, Ireland, and the Continent.⁵¹ It was a common and practical arrangement. D. Appleton and Co. received weekly shipments of books from abroad.⁵² Aside from practicality it was also an economical operation:

The volume is printed in a beautifully clear though small type upon nice paper; has an illustrated title-page and is in every way a pleasant edition. The retail price of this book in England is six-pence; in New York, it is sold wholesale at the rate of fifteen cents a copy, retail at perhaps twenty-five cents. If made here, it could not be retailed for less than seventy-five cents.

The consequences are very perceptible. More and more English books are being sold in America. Most of those which bear American imprints are manufactured in England, Scotland or Canada.⁵³

In the absence of an international copyright law there was also another advantage in having European contacts for those who wished to increase their stock at minimum cost, by simply pirating the work of a European author and printing it royalty-free. This accounts in part for the popularity of translations. The practice was so widespread as to have acquired a quasi-respectability or at least inevitability on the plea, "if I don't, he will," and so the standards of the most unscrupulous members of the trade set the pace for all the others. One writer, some years later, made the mistake of presuming that the Catholic Publication Society was doing what everyone else was doing. Mr. Kehoe soon set him straight:

Mr. Lawrence Kehoe in a letter to the editor of the *Michigan Catholic*, acknowledging an excellent notice of Cardinal Manning's *Eternal Priesthood*, printed in that journal, makes the following correction and statement: "The book is not reprinted by the Catholic Publication Society. The Society sells the book for the Cardinal—the English edition—which is the Cardinal's property, and therefore our edition is the only authorized one sold in this country. While on this subject, please let me state that during the whole time that the Catholic Publication Society Company has been in business (say 18 years) it has not 'pirated' a single foreign book; it has always recognized the right of the author to the product of his brain

⁵¹ Hecker Papers, PFA, XIIIa, 22, June 29, 1867.

⁵² *American Literary Gazette*, IX (Sept. 2, 1867), 233.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, VIII (Jan. 15, 1867), 192.

and pen; and it has always had the consent of the foreign author or publisher (sometimes of both) to publish every book it has reprinted in this country and what is more, it has always paid for the right when payment was asked."⁵⁴

While men sailed East for books, the markets were in the West:

Rev. Fr. Hecker lately visited the cities of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Wheeling and Harrisburgh at which places he lectured in favor of the Society. The Rt. Rev. Bishops and Rev. Clergy gave him the most cordial receptions, and very generous contributions were made for the object in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Wheeling. Upon his return, he lectured also at St. Peter's Church Brooklyn, with the like success. Depots for the Societies publications are now established at Mr. Quigley's in Pittsburgh and at Benziger Bros. in Cincinnati, at which all that is issued by the Society can be procured for the same price as they are sold [for] in New York.⁵⁵

By now, the society had all the trappings of a large publishing house: a center, European contacts, western agents, a rapidly expanding stock of books. In August 1867 the *Catholic World* proudly announced:

The Society has obtained a house of publication, established in a first class locality # 126 Nassau St., New York, where all its publications can be had, together with all Catholic books and pamphlets published either in this country or in England and Ireland.⁵⁶

There remained one crowning glory, and on December 30, 1868, it arrived in the form of a letter of commendation from Pope Pius IX:

We most cordially commend your zealous efforts and those of your associates who contribute to the success of the same by their labor, their gifts or their talents, We give special thanks to God that He has condescended to second them, and We, pray Him that by the power of His grace, He may stimulate still more your already strenuous exertions; and may give you more and more associates, who, with you, shall bestow their industry and strength on the common good of the Christian people.⁵⁷

While Mr. Kehoe was not a litterateur, he could and did express

⁵⁴ *Publishers' Weekly*, XXV (Feb. 23, 1884), 244.

⁵⁵ *Catholic World*, V (Aug. 1867), 715.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Catholic World*, CI (April 1915), 4.

himself eloquently, in terse, vigorous English. It seemed to him that circumstances demanded a Catholic Almanac; naturally he produced one.⁵⁸ The review of the first issue written in the *Catholic World* is no doubt very close to what he himself felt:

Of almanacs available for English-speaking Catholics, there were heretofore but two kinds—one distributed broadcast over the land free of charge, yet highly objectionable, being merely an advertising medium for quack medicines; the other—the political almanac by which astute politicians sought to disseminate their peculiar views. Hence the want of an almanac such as the one before us, has been long and sensibly felt, and hence, also, its almost unexampled success.⁵⁹

This was of course a slight exaggeration: there were others who were trying to fill the "long felt need," but that they were unsuccessful, at least in the eyes of the *Catholic World* staff, is obvious from their reviews. The following three excerpts are the *Catholic World* reviews of the *Sadlier's Catholic Directory, Almanac and Ordo* for the years 1868, 1869, and 1870 respectively:

The *Catholic Almanac* for this year makes its appearance a little earlier than it has for some years past. From a cursory glance at its contents, we think it is more correct in its details than some of its predecessors. It is gotten up with an eye to the strictest kind of economy.

This work is published in the same style as heretofore, and is, we expect, about as correct as can be expected of such a publication. There is one improvement, however, which could be made at the expense of one cent a copy, namely to sew the book instead of stitching it. The way it is now bound, several pages are defaced by the large holes punched through the book.

We are pleased to see that our suggestion of last year, with regard to the binding of the *Almanac*, has been acted upon this year; and we now have a work we can at least open without tearing it to pieces. We would suggest other improvements—in the matter of better paper, more margin on the page, less advertisements and a little more correctness in names and places in next year's issue—all of which would be a great improvement on the present volume, which is in some ways superior to former ones.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1891*, p. 34.

⁵⁹ *Catholic World*, XII (Nov. 1870), 284.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, VI (Feb. 1868), 718; VIII (Feb. 1869), 718; X (Feb. 1870), 718.

Such comments did no harm to the sales of the *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac* when it came out :

This is the first attempt by any Catholic publisher in this country to get up an almanac suitable for Catholic families. It contains a complete calendar for the year 1869, with a variety of other matter both useful and entertaining. The illustrations, nineteen in number, are excellent. We are glad to be able to state that it is the intention of the Society to issue such an almanac every year, and we hope that this first attempt may meet with the success which it so well deserves. . . . We hope the *Catholic Family Almanac* will henceforth supersede all such trashy productions.⁶¹

The first issue contained seventy-six pages of material and eight pages advertising the publications of the Catholic Publication Society. The second issue was even better : "In size, amount of matter, illustrations and literary merit the Catholic Almanac for 1870, just published, is a decided improvement upon its predecessor and must receive universal approbation."⁶²

Such enthusiasm was not shared universally, as evidenced by this factual but non-enthusiastic review in the trade journal :

The Catholic Family Almanac published by the Catholic Publication Society of New York contains the usual calendar, etc. and a number of short tales and historical and biographical selections concerning the church and some of its prominent members. It contains a number of illustrations.⁶³

Undaunted, the publication continued to improve in quality and in popularity :

A little annual at a trifling price, yet in paper, typographic execution and illustrations wonderfully attractive, now finds its way to over 70,000 Catholic homes and gives to perhaps a quarter of a million readers information, instruction and entertainment.⁶⁴

Paper-covered and sold for only twenty-five cents, the almanac proved a great success. The 1869 issue, the first, sold only 5,000 copies ; the second, 1870, sold five times that number ; by 1871,

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, VIII.

⁶² *Ibid.*, X.

⁶³ *American Literary Gazette*, XVI (Nov. 1, 1870), 6.

⁶⁴ *Catholic World*, XIV (Nov. 1871), 284.

50,000 copies of the edition were being printed.⁶⁵ In 1872 even the trade was impressed by a prepublication order of 33,000 from its own ranks.⁶⁶ As always, sales alone were not to determine the quality of the material printed; this was Kehoe's pride and joy and even the advertising had to pass the test of suitability; nothing of a doubtful character was allowed in its pages.⁶⁷ Kehoe remained editor for twenty-two years, and the annual lasted even longer, eventually outlasting the Society itself, a sure sign that it was fulfilling a need and doing it well.

The Catholic Publication Society produced also many books, the source of a certain justifiable pride: "It may be truly said to the honor of all concerned, that of the hundreds of books bearing the imprint of the Catholic Publication Society not one is unworthy to enter any library or family circle."⁶⁸

From 1866 to 1873, the Society issued over three hundred books. That they were well done is shown by the fact that even the reviewers stopped to comment on the quality of the workmanship: "Mr. Kehoe, the publisher, is giving us some creditable books . . . The present one is got up in a superior manner, both in type, paper and binding and is a worthy dress for [the] authors work."⁶⁹ "This class book is printed on good paper and is not only more complete than any other but is furnished much cheaper."⁷⁰ "Mr. Kehoe has just issued in a very neat and tasteful shape."⁷¹ "Mr. Kehoe in republishing Bentley's superb English edition, offers us a volume of equal beauty and finish. As a publication, it must claim the attention of every connoisseur and lover of first-class books."⁷²

In these days of fine native printing the above may sound like just another "commercial," but a really well-made book was not so common then as now :

American book making is far behind European. Nowhere is our deficiency greater than in binding . . . anything like origi-

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, XII (Nov. 1870), 284.

⁶⁶ *Publishers' Weekly*, II (Dec. 12, 1872), 652.

⁶⁷ *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for 1886*, p. 120.

⁶⁸ *Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1891*, p. 33.

⁶⁹ *Catholic World*, III (Aug. 1866), 718.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, IV (Oct. 1866), 143.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, (Feb. 1867), 718.

⁷² *Ibid.*, (April 1867), 144.

nality or artistic beauty in designs for book covers is not at present possible.

We can make good paper but we seldom use it.⁷³

If this was true of the ordinary printer with wide resources, it was apparently even more true of Catholic printing, until Kehoe decided to reverse the trend:

Mr. Kehoe gave to a large printing-house orders as to quality style etc. of a book about to be issued by the society. When the book was delivered, Mr. Kehoe saw at once that it was very badly printed. Calling the printers to account, they broadly intimated to him that the printing was good enough for a Catholic book. How Mr. Kehoe received this intimation may be imagined by those who knew his stalwart Catholicism.⁷⁴

It was perhaps inevitable that he should try to produce a really fine general book that could compete on its own merits with anything offered by the trade. For the Christmas gift season of December 1868, he turned out an illustrated edition of *Cradle Lands* by Lady Herbert. It was well received:

This is the first attempt ever made by a Catholic publisher in this country to produce an illustrated work of other than a strictly religious character, suitable as a holiday gift and valuable at the same time from its intrinsic merit; and it is one of the few good narratives in the English language of travel in the Holy Land written by a devout Catholic and filled consequently with a genuine religious spirit.⁷⁵

Catholic journals might be expected to appreciate the work of one of their "own." But soon the influence of Kehoe began to be felt in wider circles:

The Catholic Publication Society, New York, of which Mr. Lawrence Kehoe is general agent, has its books got up in a very tasteful manner. The illustrations of even the smallest works are admirably executed. We may particularly notice the last two volumes: Lady Herbert's *Impressions of Spain* with its really superb architectural views and landscapes; and *Glimpses of Pleasant Homes* a delightful juvenile story book with numerous domestic scenes. A great deal is expected from a work in the press, *Roma Sotteranea* treating of the Roman

⁷³ *American Literary Gazette*, VIII (April 15, 1867), 349.

⁷⁴ *Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1891*, p. 34.

⁷⁵ *Catholic World*, VIII (Dec. 1868), 423.

Catacombs, to be illustrated by wood cuts, chromolithographs etc., printed in Rome under the special superintendence of DeRossi. It will be a splendid book and one which Christians of all denominations will gladly have on their parlor tables and on their library shelves.⁷⁶

Perhaps this early success prompted him to an even more elaborate effort two years later:

Little Pierre, the pedlar of Alsace, translated from the French and illustrated by twenty-seven first-class woodcuts. This will make one of the most appropriate premium books ever issued in this country. It is entirely free from sectarian tendencies and may be safely recommended to every Sunday School Library. The book is issued in admirable style with twenty-seven excellent full page pictures, vividly illustrating Alsatian scenery and costume. The binding is quite unique, a bright blue cloth with beveled edges tastefully ornamented on front cover with black and red design and rich lettering in gold.⁷⁷

Apparently these tastefully ornamented books were produced more for prestige purposes than for profit since even in England, the home of cheap printing, the complaint was made that they did not pay.⁷⁸ It is, however, a sign of the type of work that Mr. Kehoe was capable of producing, work that was equal to the best in the trade. There is an interesting sidelight in connection with this concerning Kehoe's relations with his printer. It concerns a later period but trade practices are ageless. At the time in question, a certain Mr. Hewitt was printer for the Society, and Kehoe was quite pleased with his work. Mixed with the office correspondence of the time is an unsigned letter in the handwriting of Mr. Duane, the firm's bookkeeper:

Hammond told me Thomas Kelly of Brown St. was doing about half our printing. Mr. Hewitt when busy sending Kelly considerable of our work to be done. Hammond smiled at the thought of Mr. Kehoe boasting of the merit of Hewitt's printing-while Hewitt had nothing to do with it, Kelly having done the work.⁷⁹

To be sure, Hewitt must have inspected the work of Kelly as

⁷⁶ *American Literary Gazette*, XIII (June 1, 1869), 54.

⁷⁷ *Publishers' Weekly*, I (April 25, 1872), 367.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, I (Jan. 25, 1872), 45.

⁷⁹ KHP, NDA, II, January 12, 1886.

carefully as he knew Kehoe would. In any event, Kehoe insisted upon and got first class work during the whole of his long career.

In June 1869, the C.P.S. had purchased all the stereotype plates and book stock of Messrs. Lucas Bros. of Baltimore. Some of these books had been out of print for years, and the Society promised to issue new editions of them.⁸⁰ The disproportionately large number of titles released in 1869 shows that little time was wasted in fulfilling the promise.

One of the earliest tests of Kehoe's ingenuity probably concerned the series of prayer books that the Society now began to issue. In the first batch was the *Daily Companion*, a selection of prayers and devotional exercises for children. It was a 32 mo edition, embellished with thirty-six very neat illustrative drawings and printed on the finest paper. It sold for as little as twenty-five cents. The next year a *Mission Book* was available in sixteen types of binding. The prayer books also taught a lesson in practical merchandising. In the 1870 catalogue, one of the prayer books is entitled the *Poor Man's Manual of Devotion*; in the 1871 catalogue, the same book had become *The Key of Heaven*.

Another development that followed closely on the acquisition of the Lucas plates was the production of a series of "paper-backs."

In the supply of cheap books, the enterprise of the Society has been directed toward the issue in paper covers, on thinner paper and with close cut margins, of impressions from the plates of its more costly works and these popular volumes have been sold in great numbers at from one-half to one-third the price of the finer editions.⁸¹

These were called "People's editions." Among them were apologetic manuals: Challoner's *Catholic Christian Instructed*, Bosquet's *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church*, Gallitzen's *Defense of Catholic Principles*. These sold at twenty-five cents each, one hundred for ten dollars.⁸² Just how many the phrase "great numbers" implies is uncertain, but *The Invitation Heeded*, by James Kent Stone, was advertised as "the great book of the day, 4,000 copies sold in two months."⁸³

⁸⁰ *Catholic World*, IX (June 1869), 429.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, XII (Dec. 1870), 405.

⁸² *Ibid.*, X (Nov. 1869), advertising section, 1.

⁸³ *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for 1871*, p. 107.

Also about this time another venture was tried which proved most successful, the publishing of a juvenile magazine. The *Young Catholic* first appeared in October 1870, as an "illustrated paper for our boys and girls." It was a monthly and contained an assortment of stories, religious articles, poems, and pictures. The yearly subscription was two dollars, with no less than five orders accepted.⁸⁴ From the beginning Mrs. George (Josephine) Hecker was the editor.⁸⁵ Father Hecker boasted of the instantaneous success that the newest member of his periodical family had: "You will be glad to hear that the *Young Catholic* stands well—is successful and has 50,000 subscribers. No pains or expense are spared to make it creditable to the Catholic cause."⁸⁶

It not only began well but continued to prosper. In June 1872 Father Hecker wrote:

I think the *Young Catholic* is doing more for the future of our religion in the United States than any other work in which I am engaged. Its circulation too is on the increase and this for the second year of any Catholic publication is an unheard of thing.⁸⁷

The *Young Catholic*, like the *Catholic World*, demonstrated vitality by its survival; eventually it outlasted the C.P.S. itself. Unfortunately, it never really attained the success that its early sales promised. This was due, no doubt, to the score of imitators that sprang up in the wake of its success. These divided the market and increased the competition for a scant supply of materials.⁸⁸

The publication of periodicals by book publishers worked to the mutual advantage of both:

There was hardly a leading firm which could get along without magazines. In the memoirs of the great publishers of those days, one finds it explicitly stated as a sound business rule, that books alone do not pay. The retailers, of course had the same experience.⁸⁹

The advantage of the scheme was that the periodical not only

⁸⁴ *Catholic World*, XII (Oct. 1870), advertisement.

⁸⁵ Hecker Papers, PFA, XIIIa, 32, June 10, 1872.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 33, January 19, 1872.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 32, June 10, 1872.

⁸⁸ Elliot, *Hecker*, p. 351.

⁸⁹ Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *The Book in America*, p. 214.

operated on the most economically efficient basis; it supplied the publishing firm with a steady supply of good reprint matter, as a study of the non-imported titles of the C.P.S. will show.

The new periodical was to reinforce the work that had already been begun by Kehoe in 1866, with the publication of the *Catholic Teachers' Improved Sunday School Class Book*, in the review of which the *Catholic World* praised it for its completeness, practicality, and cheapness, while at the same time lamenting:

A library is necessary to the complete success of every Sunday School. From the catalogues of our Catholic publishers a list of about four hundred books can be selected, tolerably well adapted for this purpose. This however, is about one third as many as an ordinary Sunday School requires. We must also confess it is not pleasant to be obliged to pay for these about twice as much as Protestant Sunday Schools do for books published in the same style.⁹⁰

That the Protestant works were cheaper is not surprising since the secret of inexpensive printing is mass production and distribution. The Methodist Book Concern was responsible for Sunday School books to the amount of 500,000,000 pages and for Sunday School papers of over 500,000 circulation. The Old School Presbyterians were turning out 500 volumes of Sunday School literature a year, while the American Sunday School Union produced a juvenile journal and disposed of 300,000 of each issue.⁹¹

The C.P.S. stepped into the gap with eight series of *The Illustrated Catholic Sunday School Library*, each series consisting of twelve volumes. They also published sets of *Illuminated Sunday School Cards*, as well as *Packets of Scripture Illustrations*. In its review of the second series of the "library," the *Catholic World* commented:

These talks were evidently selected with good taste and sound judgement. All are interesting, of a high moral tone and well adjusted to carry out the praise-worthy object for which the

⁹⁰ *Catholic World*, IV (Oct. 1866), 143.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, XII (Dec. 1870), 401.

'library' was intended; furnishing Catholic youth of both sexes with reading matter both useful and entertaining . . .⁹²

Considering the efforts and the many fine publications of the Society, the response was not so good as the wealth and numbers of the Catholics in the United States might lead one to expect. It is not surprising therefore that a note of disappointment appears in an article in the *Catholic World* of December 1870:

The conductors of the Publication Society have abundant cause for gratitude in the extensive circulation of their books and the evidence, multiplying every day, that the plan is a good one and one that is likely to result in permanent benefit to the Catholic community. Yet we are sure our readers would be surprised if they knew how small a share of the support bestowed on Catholic literature in this country is bestowed by the Catholic laity. The clergy are liberal purchasers of books; of controversial volumes, a certain number can generally be disposed of to Protestants; but Catholic laymen hardly look at the literature of their own denomination.⁹³

That such neglect could have serious results is obvious. The publication of tracts was a drain on the resources of the Society; in an effort to produce the finest books possible, they secured the best workmen and paid the best prices.⁹⁴ Unless the general sales were large, there was bound to be a deficit. The local societies had still not been formed. Father Hecker had informed Archbishop Spalding a few months before: "No aid to the Society is coming in from any quarter except what I earn by lecturing. To place it where it is now, I have had to borrow nearly \$40,000 on my own personal responsibility."⁹⁵

In April the Society moved to No. 9 Warren St.⁹⁶ There was some talk of adding a daily newspaper to the publications of the C.P.S., but nothing ever came of it.⁹⁷ Aside from this, things were rather quiet, reflecting the condition of the trade in general: "A duller and more barren period of bookmaking, says the nation,

⁹² *Ibid.*, VIII (Nov. 1868), 286.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, XII (Dec. 1870), 405.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 404-405.

⁹⁵ Spalding Papers, BCA, 36AK7, May 17, 1869.

⁹⁶ *American Literary Gazette*, XV (May 2, 1870), 5.

⁹⁷ Walsh, *Hecker*, Chapter V.

than the present, we have seldom experienced. The absolutely new works are few and the good ones fewer still."⁹⁸

The times may have been dull for production, but apparently they were sound and prosperous as far as sales were concerned: "The four months notes of purchasers at the fall trade sale all fell due January 19, and it is a most remarkable circumstance that everyone of them was paid promptly on time."⁹⁹ The C.P.S. now had 36 booksellers carrying their books from Boston to New Orleans, from New York to San Francisco, in 23 cities across the land.¹⁰⁰

Father Hecker's health had been poor for some time, and by the summer of 1872 he was incapacitated and had to relinquish active direction of the C.P.S. Kehoe remained as general manager and tried what was apparently an experiment. For the first time the C.P.S. took part in the autumn trade sale:

Saturday was devoted entirely to the disposal of Catholic books, the houses of D. J. Sadlier & Co., P. O'Shea and the Catholic Publication Society being represented. The attendance was naturally less than on previous days but those who were present meant business and the publishers did not suffer.¹⁰¹

Apparently that was not enough. The C.P.S. did not appear as an entry in succeeding sales for quite a while.

With the departure of Father Hecker went the promise of a national publication society such as that envisaged by the plenary council. By December this was obvious to all concerned:

The provision of this decree of the Plenary Council was never carried out by the clergy, and the Society as such was never organized. It remains therefore as to its work at the present writing, (December 1872) entirely under the control of our Congregation, retaining the name of Catholic Publication Society and continues to do a great deal of good.¹⁰²

That good needed to be done, there can be no doubt; in July 1872 the *Catholic World* reprinted a clipping from a leading New York publication:

⁹⁸ *Publishers' Weekly*, I (Jan. 18, 1872), 6.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* (Feb. 8, 1872), 100.

¹⁰⁰ *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for 1872*, advertisement.

¹⁰¹ *Publishers' Weekly*, II (Sept. 19, 1872), 290.

¹⁰² *Mission-Chronicle of the Paulist Community*, P.F.A., II, 46.

The proposition is under discussion to establish in this city a new anti-Catholic paper, partly devoted to opposing the religious tenets of the Romanists, but still more their supposed attempts to secure political control in the country. It will support the ultra-protestant position of the bible in the public schools and will be backed, it is expected, by a large subscription among the three or four secret anti-Roman Catholic societies that exist in this country.

Further on in the same article there is a further editorial comment :

As we write, the current number of *Harper's Weekly* is laid upon our table. It contains a long article on "Romish cruelty" telling how in a Pennsylvania town, 'the Roman Catholics formed a plot to murder' a school teacher. 'The priest aided in encouraging the dangerous spirit of the people and the assassins seem to have been urged on to their dreadful deed by the open countenance of the Romish Church.'¹⁰³

In the latter half of the 19th century such accusations were not uncommon, but even more serious were the consistent and clever attacks of the periodical press :

The growth of the Catholic Church in the United States was an outstanding phenomenon of the times. Its membership doubled in our period (1865-1885). Its activity in establishing parochial schools and its attack upon the public school system in 1867 drew the ire of the *Nation*, *Harper's Weekly* and other journals. In the latter periodical Thomas Nast drew some strong anti-Catholic cartoons. There was a widespread fear of the Catholic power, which was evidenced most emphatically by articles in the *Galaxy*, *Appleton's Journal* and *Puck*, all bitterly anti-Catholic. Nearly all the evangelical journals engaged in the pastime of Catholic baiting now and then and a few were wholly devoted to it. The *Converted Catholic* (1883-1928) was founded and for more than a quarter of a century edited by a renegade priest, James A. O'Conner; and the *American Protestant* was published in 1870-1888 in New York and then in Washington.¹⁰⁴

The first reply of the C.P.S. to this sort of thing was, of course, their collection of tracts; nothing is more effective than truth for overcoming prejudice. That they were effective is testified to early in their career by a non-Catholic :

¹⁰³ *Catholic World*, XV (July 1872), 413, 417.

¹⁰⁴ F. L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885*, p. 67.

Our Roman Catholic Brethren have at length awakened to the power of the four page tract, and they are using it with increasing frequency and skill. This movement mitigates the horrors of city travel; for the Catholic tracts, besides containing much information little known to us Protestants, are written in a lively strain, often in the form of dialogue. It is not a bad thing, about half way down town, to have politely put in your hands a sprightly little piece, upon "What My Uncle Said About The Pope."¹⁰⁵

Defense alone can never be enough lest truth be lost in the unending barrage of half-truths, inuendoes, and whispered suspicions. The C.P.S. took the war to the enemy camp and apparently did quite well:

The Comedy of Convocation in the English Church in two scenes; edited by Archdeacon Chasuble, D.D.

This is the title of a pamphlet of 138 pages which recently appeared in England and has been republished in this country by the Catholic Publication Society of New York . . . it is well worthy of attention . . . no piece of satire, more delicate or cutting has been recently produced. It is evidently the work of a skilled theologian and polished writer. We commend it to all who would see the different schools in the Anglican Church brought into amusing contrast.¹⁰⁶

More important by far than either of these two techniques was the work of providing the Catholics of the United States with the books necessary to give them a clear knowledge of their faith and a sincere love for its principles. The list of works by prominent Catholic theologians, saints and spiritual men reprinted during this period is most impressive. It includes Scupoli, Bossuet, Bloisius, Manning, Segneri, St. Teresa, Ignatius Loyola, Dollinger, Faber, Lanspergius, Montalembert, Shea, Moehler, Dalgairns, Newman, Liguori, a Kempis, Quadrupani, Luis de Granada, Francis de Sales. History, philosophy, theology are all represented and well expressed. The books came not only from the past but represented the best in current Catholic scholarship:

Men and Women of the English Reformation (C.P.S.), is a history of the most noted papal and anti-papal celebrities from

¹⁰⁵ James Parton, "Our Roman Catholic Brethren," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXI (May 1868), 558.

¹⁰⁶ *American Literary Gazette*, X (Jan. 15, 1868), 177.

the days of Wolsey to the death of Cranmer. It is a work of the most vivid and interesting information. Mr. Burke has made excellent use of authentic sources come to light during the last seven years and the important and impartial testimony of distinguished Protestant writers such as Hook, Maitland, Brewer, Blunt and Stephenson has also been consulted with great care. The book can be most warmly commended, especially, to Catholic students of history as a very fair and unbiased statement of the great events of that representative epoch.¹⁰⁷

Aside from these more obviously polemical works the C.P.S. printed a type of work comparatively rare in those days, Finotti's *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, a list of works by Catholic authors published in the United States from 1784 to 1825, and, in another vein, "the most complete Catholic Hymn Book ever published."¹⁰⁸ But even these attempts to bolster a strong and intelligent Catholicism were not the whole effort. The Society from its beginnings attempted to provide Catholics with wholesome general reading:

The character of the books has been diversified. Works of controversy and devotion have alternated with tales, sketches, poetry, biography and narratives of travel, so that all tastes might be suited and entertainment provided as well as instruction.¹⁰⁹

The aim was to supply the best in every field: "Stop novels, we cannot. Let preachers thunder as they may, they will be written and they will be read. It is for us to seize upon that weapon and turn it to our own purpose."¹¹⁰ The most outstanding contribution in this field was the timeless classic, *The Betrothed*, by Manzoni.

In general, the work of the Catholic Publication Society up to the year 1873 was well expressed in an editorial in the *Boston Pilot* for May 24, 1873:

The number of books sent out by the Catholic Publication Society of New York is truly amazing and we feel bound to say that these books are not only excellently printed but also excellent in their quality. They can be safely put into the hands of

¹⁰⁷ *Publishers' Weekly*, I (April 25, 1872), p. 368.

¹⁰⁸ *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for 1872*, advertisement.

¹⁰⁹ *Catholic World*, XII (Dec. 1870), 405.

¹¹⁰ "Use and Abuse of the Novel," *ibid.*, XVI (Nov. 1872), 240.

Catholics; and our young folk can read them without danger and without scruples. To the young, the Catholic Publication Society has rendered invaluable service by its immense number of Sunday School publications and the Catholic public at large owes to the Society a debt of gratitude not easily repaid. It has not only multiplied excellent books, but it has raised the standard of Catholic publications throughout the country . . .

The failure of the Jay Gould banking firm in 1873 set off a major economic trend, even though the people of the times may not have realized it. The following excerpts from editorials of the *Publishers' Weekly* show quite clearly the calm, if unrealistic, attitude that prevailed:

September 27

The panic which broke upon Wall St. Thursday afternoon of last week . . . is confined to it, except for its reflective influence through the banks and the brief contagion of the "scare." The excitement arose in the face of the healthiest prospects for a brisk season in legitimate trade, and merchants who deal in actual and not in speculative values . . . had little to fear. The influence of this whirl of events upon the book trade is therefore but temporary and small at that.

October 4

The panic has caused more postponements in the publication of books than at first seemed possible. Most of those however, . . . will be published within a week or two.

October 18

The panic has affected the trade in general somewhat more than was anticipated; collections have been difficult and many publishers have postponed publication accordingly . . . It is well to bear in mind that the ordinary channels for borrowing are still embarrassed and that the money necessary to the original outlay in manufacturing and publishing must come from the people at large through the retail trade.

November 8

Let everyone go to work with a will to attract Christmas trade and the showing of the year may not be so bad after all.

The trend was not to vary for several years, and the C.P.S. like all the others felt the squeeze; it was at this time that George Hecker assumed an indispensable role in its survival.

The elder brother of Father Hecker and, like him, a convert and an enthusiastic supporter of the Catholic press, he had already contributed heavily to the needs of the Publication Society. Together with his brothers, John and Isaac, he had formed the firm of Hecker and Brothers, flour merchants, which proved most successful (and later became Hecker and Brother after Isaac's ordination to the Priesthood). This proved to be a most fortunate circumstance for the success of the many printing ventures of his brother, Father Isaac. Willing to help, not only financially and in the role of business adviser, George was a source of encouragement and sound advice to both Father Hecker and Lawrence Kehoe.¹¹¹

At this time, Father Hecker, owing to ill-health, retired from active work in the Publication Society, but Kehoe was in need of all the help that he could get:

... Mr. George V. Hecker contributed a large sum for continuing the undertaking.¹¹² The result was his finding himself in the publishing business, which he was compelled to place as far as possible on a basis to meet the current outlay. The Society, as far as its name went, thus became a Catholic publishing firm, with Mr. Hecker mainly involved financially and Mr. Kehoe in charge of the business. Mr. Hecker sunk a small fortune in the apostolate of the press, much of it during the hard times between 1873 and 1876.¹¹³

One of the first and most obvious moves to be made was to insure a steady market even in these financially unsettled days. Looking around, they realized that there was one aspect of Catholic publishing that they had not as yet gone into and yet one that promised more stability than anything that they had yet tried. It was the field of Catholic school books. They entered their new field with their usual vigor and skill. By the end of the year 1874 they had a complete set of school books copyrighted under the title, "The Young Catholic's Illustrated School Series," the proof sheets of which had been carefully read and revised by the Rev. John Lancaster Spalding. The series consisted of a primer, speller,

¹¹¹ *Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1892*, p. 32.

¹¹² Some estimate the amount as high as \$200,000. See Vincent F. Holden, *The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker*, p. 7.

¹¹³ Elliot, *Hecker*, p. 358.

a series of graded readers, catechisms, arithmetic, a series of histories, a book on elocution, and a series of copybooks.¹¹⁴ In July they placed the following ad:

We have undertaken the publication of these school books, at the request of many eminent teachers, lay and clerical, and have spared neither labor nor expense in endeavoring to make them not only equal to any books of a like character now in use, but in matter and arrangement, far superior to any yet presented to the Catholic public. Special terms for introduction. Samples sent free. The C.P.S. is now prepared to supply Catholic colleges, academies and schools with everything required for use in the schoolroom, at the lowest prices Paper, ink, pens, slates, slate pencils etc. anything ordered and not in stock will be procured at the lowest possible price.¹¹⁵

Apparently they were quite successful in selling their school books. In a letter to his Chicago agent in September 1877, Kehoe exults: "Grammer school speller une grande success [*sic*]-orders from all creation for it."¹¹⁶ But with success came critics and again the old complaint of unfair competition. The critics were answered in no uncertain terms by Kehoe himself:

The first and only house that, against many discouragements, has striven to elevate English Catholic literature in the United States; the first house that substituted instructive and useful work of literary merit, printed with mechanical skill and some regard for taste, in place of the miserable books that had for years been the only literary food offered English speaking Catholics in America. In these efforts, it has spent thousands of dollars . . .

We think there is room enough for all and work enough for all in publishing new books and improving the old ones, until the time comes when Catholics can feel that they have a literature and text books which can compare with the attractive books that are helping to make infidelity so prevalent.¹¹⁷

The books continued to sell well and to bring in a substantial amount on into 1879 when Kehoe boasted that when his books got into a school they stayed in.¹¹⁸ The orders for spellers alone from

¹¹⁴ *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for 1875*, advertisement.

¹¹⁵ *Publishers' Weekly*, V (July 1874), advertisement, p. 109.

¹¹⁶ KHP, NDA, September 1, 1877.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, March 18, 1878.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, August 26, 1879.

one city, Pittsburgh, amounted to 10,000; in fact their big problem was to have enough on hand to satisfy the demand.¹¹⁹ In spite of their apparently good business, they were never very far ahead: "A purely book business of a million dollars a year would not pay a living profit to a retailer under present conditions of trade, 'net sales' on school books and trade sale prices on miscellaneous."¹²⁰

The "present conditions of trade" referred to was the pernicious practice of underselling. In a less genteel profession it would have been called cut-throat competition, but whatever its name this literary expression of laissez-faire economics was proving deadly to the book trade. As early as 1870 the complaint was made:

Underselling has most unfortunately been extending with great rapidity during the last few years and though all unite in deprecating the evil, few have the courage to stem the tide. What first might have easily been stamped out now seems to be beyond a remedy and the suggestions which have been made are useless, because the unanimous support of the trade is wanting. What the ultimate consequences of the practise will be are not yet apparent but it is a significant fact that in England the number of names which have appeared in the bankruptcy lists have increased in exact proportion as this baneful custom has extended.¹²¹

Various arrangements were made but each time ingenious salesmanship found a way around them. When an attempt was made to limit the inducements offered the buyer, some firms hired field agents, finding that, other things being equal, the man on the spot got the order. As a result the field staffs grew to rather uneconomic proportions. The matter came up for discussion at the annual meeting of the Publishers Board of Trade and the following resolution was passed:

Resolved that a committee consider the question as to the expediency of withdrawing agents and members conducting the business of introducing school books by correspondence, as during the first year of their association.¹²²

Nothing came of the resolution. The problem increased with time,

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, October 29, 1879.

¹²⁰ *Publishers' Weekly*, XII (July 7, 1877), p. 6.

¹²¹ *American Literary Gazette*, XV (July 15, 1870), 165.

¹²² *Publishers' Weekly*, I (Jan. 18, 1872), 15.

and a year later the same board was wrestling with the system of introductory offers:

The "introduction" plan of special inducements resulted simply in creating an artificial demand Sooner or later, the books introduced for the sake of the commission were discarded so that another commission might be got, and these were thrown on the market and necessarily cheapened new books accordingly.

The Publishers Board of Trade was organized with this system of introduction as its chief objective point. The present by-laws prohibit any discount of above a third off, except when old books are taken in exchange and the old books are destroyed by the publisher, in which case, half off may be allowed. But ten per cent further may be allowed off this as compensation for "handling the books," and publishers may pay a "compensation for services" to Boards of Education or to such parties as they may designate, of not more than ten per cent.¹²³

These norms have an importance as the standard which the C.P.S. tried to maintain both in and out of the regular trade. That the consequences could be serious was obvious from the sombre warning in the September issue of the *Publishers' Weekly*, two weeks before the crash: "Today, underselling has become a question of life and death with the legitimate book trade."¹²⁴

In a desperate effort to put a floor under prices, the book men decided to eliminate the trade sales and substitute trade fairs instead. These, instead of auctions which would drag down the whole trade, were to be merely an opportunity to exhibit one's stock and to get a general picture of the field. The C.P.S. was represented, and their display gives some idea of what they thought were their important works:

The Catholic Publication Society had a neat case at the back of the structure on the eastern end where they exhibited in the horizontal part a full line of Bibles and prayerbooks in a great variety of styles, morocco, calf, silk, velvet, pearl, metal and porcelain mounted, especially adapted to Catholic taste. In the upright portion are the twenty two volumes of the *Catholic World*, making a goodly show in half Russia, and

¹²³ *Ibid.*, III (Feb. 13, 1873), 152.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, IV (September 6, 1873), 234.

samples of their general lines—Cusack's, *St. Patrick*, *The Works of Archbishop Hughes*, novels etc.¹²⁵

The committee report on Religious Publication Societies was also very flattering, although for some reason Kehoe did not take an active part in the deliberations. In substance the committee was happy to believe that the religious publishing societies had adhered to the rules of the association as rigidly as any class of dealers in the trade:

Mr. President: Now gentlemen, if you have any doubt as to whether we have made any progress, I think you have some evidence in this report. I know it is very common in these days to say that religion don't [*sic*] amount to very much; but religion has kept the twenty per cent rule. (applause)¹²⁶

The sweetness-and-light policy of the trade did not last long. As soon as the general public realized that its traditional discounts were to be lessened even if the price of books was to be lowered in consequence, they began to cry that the association was a restraint of trade and monopolistic, two very damning accusations. Consequently a March editorial mournfully declared: "The cause which was to some extent efficient in dissolving the Board—public feeling—has been active in inducing a return to the old system of a wholesale list as the basis of school book prices."¹²⁷

Aside from the difficulties inherent in the system, the C.P.S. had its own particular problems, not the least of which was trying to collect its money. One particular case concerned a seller in Chicago, when he had a fire and claimed total loss. The following are a few of the complications that developed before the case was finished:

From this and so many other things, one would suppose that Graham and his family have been carrying on a wholesale swindling shop instead of a Catholic bookstore.

That a close examination into matters and things goes to show, by circumstantial evidence, that the fire was the work of an incendiary and done by the use of fluids in the hands of someone in the house.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, X (July 1, 1876), 19.

¹²⁶ "Philadelphia Convention Committee report on Religious Publication Societies," *ibid.*, X (July 22, 1876), 177.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, II (March 31, 1877), 374.

... this French house's lawyer swears that you gobbled up all the insurance left—has put in a claim against John Graham, Bridget Graham and Lawrence Kehoe.

I examined the bills and find the error of \$1,000 dollars in Graham's favor as stated. This is a fine racket—after swearing to the account.

They [the French firm] caught Graham in the swindle, overcharging and putting down retail prices as for instance, on the French bill, that which cost 30 francs they would call \$30–50 francs \$50 and so on.¹²⁸

Dealers were not the only complication. It was often extremely difficult to collect a bill. The fact that school books were in great demand and subject to keen competition did not always mean prompt payment. One at least of the Society's clients still had not paid after eight years.¹²⁹ In addition another trick current at the time plagued even the C.P.S. A bogus agent would go around taking orders and deposits and then simply disappear. Innocent as the firm was, it earned itself a great deal of ill will when it refused to acknowledge such orders.¹³⁰

Business continued to be poor and everything was blamed, from the presidential election to the railroad strike. All publishers were affected, even the usually prosperous Methodist Book Concern:

At the recent meeting of the Book Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Cincinnati, the committee says in its report that most of the depositories have been unprofitable and at some, losses have been sustained.

Total Sales \$835,912.¹³¹

A note appears about this time which gives a clue to the selling power of even the steady, long-term investment books which are so large a stock of Catholic publishers:

The sale of Bishop Gibbons' (now Archbishop of Baltimore) work, *The Faith of our Fathers*, is upwards of 22,500 copies, the largest sale that any Catholic work has ever reached in this country and the prospects are that it will in reasonable time reach 100,000.¹³²

¹²⁸ KHP, NDA, Jan. 7 and 22, 1877.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1877.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1877.

¹³¹ *Publishers' Weekly*, XIII (March 30, 1878), 356.

¹³² *Ibid.*, XII (October 20, 1877), 469.

By the middle of 1878 things had become so bad that Kehoe had to warn his traveling agent against drawing on the company account for money. His relationship with this agent, John Hammond, as expressed in their correspondence, brings out many things in the character of both. The following four letters may be taken as typical examples:¹³³

July 12, 1878

Dear Hammond,

No use, I can't pay that draft. I will send a check for \$100 next week—to where? It seems as if it never rains but it pours. Notes we got from people going to protest—bills to pay—the devil to pay and no money coming in—and then your draft. It is too much for human nature. I can't make any propositions yet—can't do anything until we get our balance sheet. At another time I may explain, I can't now. Our whole business may change and if it does & I hope it will—it will be alright for all and we will astonish people, that is all I can say.

Yours truly
L. Kehoe

July 22, 1878

Dear Hammond,

I think it is about time this recrimination stopped. You are not running the business altogether.

Your a/c rendered is not correct at all.

If you would only put your orders in a clip of papers, they would be sent you, but you mix them into long and abusive letters to me, . . . I know your hyperbolic mode of expression too well to get mad.

But to business. Our company will not sell to the Stockton house. They are reported good only for trifles. . . . We have lost too much by such sales to *good, honest* men.

Yours truly
L. Kehoe

November 23, 1878

Dear Hammond,

I sent you today, the first copy of "big type" made or ready, you infernal pessimist find fault with it because the type shines through—after one or two printings that won't happen as the type will get smooth—and even as it is, when the book is a month old, it won't look so. Next edition, I shall have more

¹³³ KHP, NDA.

opaque paper. I want 60¢ net for the book from dealers, as the lowest price—and as much more as you can get. It is on the style about \$1.50 I suppose, but d—the retail prices. It exists no longer. Get notes or money . . .

Yours truly
L. Kehoe

December 7, 1878

Dear Hammond,

. . . Get down to the solid facts and don't blow so much about what we can do. This is how the sisters get the better of you. Put on the *poor mouth* for once. Say we are losing money on account of failures, plead poverty and say that we are losing heavily. Try it

Cummisky—Philadelphia failed

McGee—New York failed

Mrs. McGee has the paper—he has gone up for 10,000. Owes us. Look out for more. Be cautious with the trade.

Yours truly
L. Kehoe

The year 1878 was generally conceded to have been the poorest in the recollection of most of the men in the trade.¹³⁴ The C.P.S. had a special reason to remember the passing of the year:

On the night of the 26 inst. a fire broke out in the building of which the Catholic Publication Society occupies the store and first floor. The damage caused by water is serious amounting to between \$25,000 and \$50,000. The firemen tried to protect the books from the water by covering the entire stock with heavy cloth but the water ran in streams on the floor and in many places, the weight broke down the ceiling. J. A. McGee who occupies the greater part of the adjoining building, sustains a loss of about \$700 by water and partly by fire.¹³⁵

As business conditions worsened, there was an even greater dependence on field agents, and it took a great deal of shrewd planning to know where an agent could do the most good. Kehoe was frank and explicit in his instructions:

February 24, 1879

Dear Hammond,

. . . Don't see any use to go to Memphis. It is all yellow fever and is bankrupt. Mansford is seeing to things there and

¹³⁴ *Publishers' Weekly*, XV (Jan. 4, 1879), 6.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV (Dec. 28, 1878), 846.

pays. Nashville is dead. Nolan paid 25¢ on the dollar. I think Louisville needs stirring—also southern Ohio.

Yours truly
L. Kehoe

March 3, 1879

Dear Hammond,

. . . 700 lost by Kramer-Kelly & Pier 300, Squire owes us over 700. It will be two years before we will get our money. Everything is going to smash. Now that the real businessmen of the country have stopped failing, the Catholics are beginning to fail. They always begin when the others leave off. Don't be anxious to sell booksellers.

Yours truly
L. Kehoe¹³⁶

With times so difficult, it was a case of surviving as best one could. In April Kehoe sent Hammond a circular from a wine merchant with the commissions marked as a means of helping to pay expenses. He also was most insistent that the price of the "authors" books be maintained.¹³⁷ The publication of such books, bringing a small but certain profit since the author paid all expenses, was countenanced by the largest and best houses, in spite of the protests of the purists.¹³⁸ Kehoe also made arrangements with other houses to carry their books as a means of increasing stock.¹³⁹ Finally another venture that helped to sell books was the running of book stands in the back of churches where "missions" were being given.¹⁴⁰ With each of these activities the firm managed to survive and to do fruitful work until better times in 1880:

The year just closed has brought at last the turn of the tide toward better times which has been so long hoped for and so long delayed . . . The publishing trade has been markedly improved and in many lines, such has been the block in printing offices and binderies, it has been impossible to fill orders.

The cost of manufacturing has already increased considerably . . . the rise in paper is already 10%.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ KHP, NDA.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, April 5, May 1, 1879.

¹³⁸ *Publishers' Weekly*, I (June 27, 1872), 592.

¹³⁹ KHP, NDA, August 1, 1879.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 29, 1879.

¹⁴¹ *Publishers' Weekly*, XVII (Jan. 3, 1880), 6.

Business picked up rapidly, but money was "coming in slow and we have 10,000 to pay this month."¹⁴² In March, "We are very busy, selling lots of books."¹⁴³ With the new business activity went a new need to get out and sell. Both Hammond and Kehoe traveled widely; again the periodicals were an advantage. In order to cut down expenses, they traded advertising space for railway passes:

Dear Sir,

Permit us to invite your attention to the *Catholic World* and the *Catholic Family Annual*, the two most popular Catholic publications in the United States, copies of which we herewith send you. The *Catholic World* enjoys circulation of over 30,000 per month while the issue of the *Family Annual* is upwards of 200,000 copies. We would be pleased to insert in either or both a standing advertisement of your road to be compensated by transportation when occasion requires.

Catholic Publication Society
Lawrence Kehoe manager¹⁴⁴

While the new activity was pleasant, it also entailed a lot of work. One of the first items on the agenda was the sending of a catalogue and order list to every parish priest and parish school, a single item that entailed the addressing of 8,000 envelopes.¹⁴⁵ It also began the mountain of correspondence that would so oppress Kehoe, who prided himself that no letter lay on his desk for four hours without an answer.¹⁴⁶ In July he received the highest encouragement of his career in the form of a letter from Rome:

About a week ago, I had the honor of being received in an audience by His Holiness Pope Leo XIII in which I presented, on behalf of the Catholic Publication Society Co. of New York, your letter, together with the complete series of the *Young Catholics' School Books*. The Holy Father admired the beautiful binding, the type and the illustrations and requested me to express to you his pleasure and satisfaction at your efforts and success in supplying Catholic youth with standard works of education. He said that the presentation was most opportune as he was thinking of a like series for his

¹⁴² KHP, NDA, Jan. 11, 1880.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, March 12, 1880.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1880.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1880.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, July 21, 1880.

own children in the schools of Rome and would consequently examine them more at his leisure.

As a token of his sovereign good will, he sends you and all the members of the Catholic Publication Society, the Apostolic Benediction, with the hope that your work will meet with the success that it deserves . . .¹⁴⁷

Kehoe's gleeful comment to Hammond was, "look at this, the pope going to model books after us!!!!!"¹⁴⁸

The new demand for books could easily be met by running off more printing, but it was another thing to get them bound. All the binders were busy and there was no rushing them. As a result, the Society could not fill an order to supply the schools of Louisville.¹⁴⁹ At the end of September Kehoe wrote, "we are just even with all our orders tonight, the first night in five weeks we are so."¹⁵⁰ In spite of all the business, by the end of November Kehoe remarked: "If you want \$500 you will have to collect it—over \$50,000 due us and we have to borrow money to pay our bills, it is damnable . . . It is useless to try to run this business this way if people won't pay."¹⁵¹

In an effort to cash in on increased prosperity, the price of the *Catholic World* was reduced to four dollars, and the publishers sent out agents to do house canvassing. This system had many advantages over the old system of working through dealers, especially in the case of those like Cunningham in Philadelphia:

I have found from conversations with him that he has a most singular way of doing business with his subscribers, many of whom do business with him at his store. For example, a Mrs. Roche and also Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary bought books of him 2 years ago. The other day, he sent them the bill with interest. They objected to paying interest but paid bill and interest added: and then to get even with him told him to stop the C.W.

I think he had better send the C.W. by mail . . .¹⁵²

The new agent was a Mr. Keedy of 935 Spruce St., a chatty

¹⁴⁷ *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for 1881*, advertisement, p. 126.

¹⁴⁸ KHP, NDA, July 26, 1880.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1880.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1880.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1880.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, April 9, 1880.

little fellow who gives us a good picture of the trials and tactics of the trade. He arose at 7 a.m. went to work at 8 and worked until 7 p.m., "often later." By means of various tactics, not the least of which was shame, he averaged about five subscriptions a day. On each of these he made one dollar and boasted that they were all taken by "first class people—no beats nor paupers nor whiskey suckers—but priests, lawyers, doctors, merchants and merchant tailors."¹⁵³

One of the biggest difficulties Kehoe had at this time was with his agents. Either they were trying to cheat him,¹⁵⁴ or, like Hammond, they were loyal but not what could be called expert. This, plus the pressure of increased work, brought forth a gargantuan blast that points up a real difficulty in the Catholic book field at that time:

Dear Hammond,

If you would think it worth your while to read our advertising, our notices in the *Catholic World*, in circulars and catalogues you would see that *Stumbling Blocks* is a net book. You ought to know what a net book is by this time. It is an author's book and it matters little to us whether we sell it or not. If you were in the pork business or were selling jackasses you would read every circular about pork and jackasses; but the men who are selling books, Catholic books—the greatest—the highest—the most noble business in this mundane sphere, scorn the knowledge of what they sell and can't even spell the titles of the books they would sell. It is no wonder it is not a success. You had better come here in July or June—in dull times—stay in the store about 2 or 3 weeks & see if you can't pick up some real book knowledge. If I can't get it in your head any other way, I will get a ten penny nail and drive it in. I shall have to give several lessons & make you stand dinner every day & go to Coney Island.

Yours truly
L. Kehoe¹⁵⁵

Within a year Hammond was pressing for more money. Kehoe raised his expense account to six dollars a day but refused the

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1880.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1880.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1880.

increase in salary.¹⁵⁶ He probably felt more than justified when the annual report came in :

It beats all . . . how one is disappointed. I thought our year from May 1880 to 1881 would be grand in sales, and that a fellow would make a little, but we have all added up now & our sales fell off compared with the two years previously of over 11,000 dollars each year. This is awful. After all the work—all the introductions—all the “digging” we have done. And yet fall off from the previous year of over 11,000. It seems useless to work. I am caved in that’s all. Where have we lost? We gained in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Penn. then where have we lost? Look into this thing. This year will show a loss instead of a gain. There is one point—we must cut down these extra discounts. I can’t work all my life time for the fun of it.¹⁵⁷

In August the Western News Company stopped handling school books and returned all that they had in stock.¹⁵⁸ By September Kehoe was willing to admit that the school book trade did not pay.¹⁵⁹ By November his creditors were after him, and he wrote to Hammond not to draw any money as “we are now aground.”¹⁶⁰ By December Mr. Hecker had had enough. He offered to sell the C.P.S. to Kehoe but only on a cash basis. In an attempt to raise the money, Kehoe contacted a paper man by the name of Murphy :

Here is a new deal. Murphy the paper man wants to go in and take half the stock of the concern and pay cash and let Mr. Hecker trust me for the other half. If we do this I will not want any money, but it is all in a mire yet. Mr. H. is thinking it over. Of course, I keep control of the stock. If it will be a success, the other way was the best but I fear I could not get the \$15,000. He will go for the stock. It is the old story, not much chance for those who have not the cash. Be wise, salt your money down—it will come in good some time. I will know if I want yours.

Here are two bills, see what Tom has written on them. On account of the proposed sale, we are hunting up all the a/c. It would never do to buy such bills if they are not due. Have

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, April 22, 1881.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, May 10, 1881.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1881.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1881.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1881.

all these things settled. Explain about these, report on all—I want to have all fixed up.

Yours truly
L. Kehoe

I am not very enthusiastic over it—for I find it is still work & slave for these people at cost of living.¹⁶¹

The year 1882 was to be one of alternating hope and doubt for Kehoe. As the year opened the sale fell through:

I'm afraid it is all up with me. Murphy backed out of the 5,000 and proposed a stock company; well I agreed providing I held majority of stock. That was agreed on. When I went to him to fix upon a price to offer Mr. Hecker, then he told me his friends must have majority of stock. I left, telling him if I had to be a slave all my life, I preferred the old master to a new one. That ends it. . . . The whole affair has been a nuisance, an anxiety, and a trouble to me.¹⁶²

Yet business continued to be brisk, and there probably was not much time for brooding. In February he wrote that he was busy and that 8,000 books had been shipped out in one day.¹⁶³ He had made up his mind that something would have to be done, at least by the end of the year, or he would look around for another position.¹⁶⁴ With this decision came a new clarity of purpose, and in all his letters of this time appears careful speculation about the sources of possible loans. In an undated enclosure marked "private" he went into details of the coming sale:

Private: About that matter of the store—Hecker wants security or \$22,000 cash. I offered 15,000, no security.

I can get from you say	3,000
Murphy	5,000
a friend	5,000
a friend	2,000
(Bos.) Noonan	2,000

17,000 I believe I can count on this.

I shall have clear myself in July 3,000 but I want that to run things the first year—so I lack 5,000. Fox could not do that

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 29, 1881.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1882.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1882.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, April 22, 1882.

could he? Whoever I get money from I shall need it for at least 5 years. Now you see how I stand. I am mad and if things are not soon settled some way, I shall send in my resignation and leave the d—— business. If I could get hold of the two histories I am doing, I could go it alone. Keep shady. I am working something out.

However, if I can find someone that can lend me the \$5,000 at 5 or 6 interest for five years, I'll take it at once and *make money* out of all. I can do it now.¹⁶⁵

Kehoe planned a summer trip to Europe to see what help he could get abroad.¹⁶⁶

Meanwhile big things were being planned in the industry as some strange alchemy brought the Catholic book publishers together in an association with high objectives that the general trade had found it impossible to maintain. The meeting itself was held shortly after the beginning of the new year, but the official announcement was delayed until July, when the *Publishers' Weekly* printed an editorial:

The long-pending conflict between bona fide and fictitious prices has suddenly been dealt with in a quarter least expected and in a determined manner that deserves success. It is a curious fact, that while the question of square prices has on the part of the bookseller been agitated during a number of years in England and Germany as well as in this country without ever resulting in any perceptible cooperation on the part of the publishers, it should have been reserved for a small section of the American book trade—the Catholic publishers—to take the initiative step. This important news has come to us, almost simultaneously, from two of the leading spirits in the movement and as an indication of their conviction, it is worth quoting the direct language used by both in referring to the action and its cause. "The Catholic book trade has at last got a little bit of sense into its head and has agreed to make a reduction in the retail prices of its books as well as in its discounts. The Catholic publishers of the United States have been very much demoralized during the last ten years, many of the oldest houses having failed, and the anxiety of all of them to entice purchasers by any means, has resulted in some cases in giving — per cent off to clergymen and others! This could end in nothing but ruin and ruin indeed it was to many of

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, III.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1882.

them. After losing thousands of dollars in selling at such discounts, they have now formed a syndicate with a determination to put a stop to this suicidal mode of doing business." So runs the report of the one and that of the other is of the same tenor: "The Catholic publishers have just determined on a scale of prices and discounts for the future, to go into effect August 10, 1882. The Catholic trade, like all the other branches of the book trade has been very much demoralized owing to the lack of a fixed rate of discount, the discounts in fact, having been rather at the mercy of the buyer than under the control of the seller. Last fall, one house took, on its own account, the initiative step in reducing its retail prices and establishing fixed discounts. This may have been but a straw, but the fact is, that now all the Catholic publishers have met and agreed on a certain discount to the trade and to the customer, such as institutions, the clergy etc." The Catholic book trade must be congratulated on its progressive action, which is a unique and shining example.¹⁶⁷

Kehoe was the treasurer of the new organization, and its general outline was very similar to the attempt made earlier by the trade at large. It was open to all Catholic book publishers, i.e. anyone known as such who owned stereotype plates to the value of \$2,000. A standard list of discounts was drawn up with a forty per cent maximum except for school books. There was to be no pirating of one another's books, and the officers of the organization were constituted a board of arbitration in case of disputes. Anyone who violated the rules was to be cut off from all the advantages of membership until he paid a fine of \$200 and was reinstated.¹⁶⁸ All but one of the Catholic publishers joined. The widow, Mrs. Sadlier, stayed outside.¹⁶⁹

By September there was a rush of business at all the houses. Again the trouble was in having the books bound:

We have two binderies, over sixty persons at work now. We are fully prepared to supply as last year but this year orders are more than doubled and all came in one rush. Had Fox ordered early in the season he could have been supplied. Make all the apologies possible. We supply new schools first. Our

¹⁶⁷ *Publishers' Weekly*, XXII (July 29, 1882), 133.

¹⁶⁸ KHP, NDA, III, Articles of Association and Regulations of the American Catholic Book Publishers Association adopted at New York, 1882.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1882.

old friends must be easy with us. The other houses are in the same fix.¹⁷⁰

There were more annoyances ahead. He sent 25,000 books to another binder who promised to have them ready in three days; four days later they still had not arrived. There was also the case of the Philadelphia binder who thinking he had Kehoe at his mercy raised his prices fifty per cent.

Just as things seemed to be picking up, the company suffered another heavy loss:

It seems as if all hell was against us as well as the Catholic publishers. We can stand the opposition of both and beat both; but when the elements are against us, I fear we shall have to cave in. Yesterday and last night was our Northern Equinox. It rained cats, dogs and devils—and the result; the leader on the roof, which runs down into a big pipe between our building and Hickeys burst, flooded the whole store, destroyed lots of our books—best prayer-books, Bibles etc. and knocked down the ceiling, played the devil generally and what a looking store we had this morning. I fear we cannot get damages. It will be called the “visitations of Providence” etc. etc. So you see what a hard row we have to hoe. We lost no school books for we did not have them but don’t say this. Use it as a white lie to give reasons why we could not fill orders. Any port in a storm, get sympathy etc.¹⁷¹

Only three days later, he complained again that even with three binders working and sending books as far as Philadelphia to be bound the orders were still increasing. Understandably, he was tired out.

Apparently feeling that this was as good a time as any, Hammond, the indispensable road-man, with his usual flare for the dramatic, resigned in order to take a better-paying job. The situation was doubly embarrassing for Kehoe as he himself had announced that he must have either a substantial increase, or a sale or he would leave. Hammond’s resignation was to be effective at the beginning of the new year. Kehoe wanted to hold him; in spite of all their differences they were well matched and apparently both knew it. He raised the expense account an extra dollar a day

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1882.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1882.

bringing it to a total of \$7, pointing out at the same time, the advantages of free transportation, the liberality of the expense account and the fact that the salary of \$1,000 a year was clear profit.¹⁷² Apparently his arguments were convincing for he wrote to Hammond after the first of the year, as though nothing had happened, to get some material for the annual.¹⁷³

The new year of 1883 was to be a busy one from several points of view. On January 4 Kehoe wrote that he was killed with work, for two days in succession he had sent out sixty orders.¹⁷⁴

As the second anniversary of the Association rolled around, Kehoe began to suspect that all was not well. On the 25th he wrote to Hammond then in Texas:

I want you to get someone to write letters at different times to Kenedy, Sadlier, O'Shea, Piet, Murphy, Benziger, such as I enclose. Have the answers sent to someone in Texas who will forward them to you in our care here in New York. I want to see if these rascals keep faith. I have found some do not. I must have proof. A little caution on your part and you can get it.¹⁷⁵

On April 3 he wrote to Hammond that he would make a poor detective as his letters were "too thin" and suspected. Nevertheless, Kenedy had been expelled from the Association and no more of his books were to be sold.¹⁷⁶ With Sadlier and Kenedy out, apparently there was too much fear of competition for by August, the Association was formally abandoned:

The American Catholic Publishers Association, we are sorry to learn, has disbanded. One of its most loyal members writes us, "The Association had done much in one year to elevate and give character to the business of publishing Catholic books, but the bad faith shown by about two members (the old, old story) so disgusted the others that they concluded to disband and let the 'devil take the hindmost.' Consequently, we may say that Catholic books have no more a standard of value in the trade and when a purchaser presents himself, it is not the question, what is your price for this book? but what

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1882.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1883.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1883.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1883.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, April 3, 1883.

can you get for it? The result of fictitious long prices on our catalogues.”¹⁷⁷

Kehoe was probably too exhausted to spend much time in recriminations. On August 8 Hammond wrote demanding \$1500 a year. Kehoe brushed him aside impatiently; Hecker had agreed to sell and until that was settled he wanted no nonsense.¹⁷⁸ Things were slowly coming to a climax, accountants were brought in; a stock inventory was made; and December 17 saw Kehoe's last letter on the subject:

. . . had experts at the accounts an entire month. They have just got through. We are to see Hecker at 2:30 today and try to fix things. Everything hangs fire so far. Hecker wants to get all he can out of the accounts. I'll write as soon as all is done or off. We had to take stock and do lots of extra work . . .¹⁷⁹

Although not mentioned in the papers, the sale did go through:

In 1883, the Catholic Publication Society passed into the hands of Mr. Kehoe as principle stockholder. Mr. Kehoe immediately formed connections with Burns and Oates of London, the leading Catholic publishing house of Great Britain, thus making the Catholic Publishing Society Company as it was now called, in some sort an international affair, by which great numbers of the most valuable Catholic publications are simultaneously made available to Catholic readers in both countries.¹⁸⁰

Master in his own house at last, Kehoe lost no time in expanding both his number of titles and his contracts with printers both here and abroad. A partial list of the firms with whom the C.P.S. printed jointly in its long career includes Burns and Oates; Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer; R. Washbourne; Lane and Son; Hodges, Figgis and Co. of Dublin; Kegan, Paul, Trench and Co. of London; Murphy and Co. of Baltimore; Allen and Co.; Basil Montague Pickering; Richardson and Son; Roberts Bros. of Boston; P. Donahoe of Boston; H. L. Kilner and Co. of Philadelphia; as well as Gill, Duffy, and O'Connell of Dublin.

His diligence did not go unnoticed. When the hierarchy of the country decided to get out a uniform and suitable catechism, the

¹⁷⁷ *Publishers' Weekly*, XXIV (Aug. 18, 1883), 187.

¹⁷⁸ KHP, NDA, Aug. 8, 1883.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1883.

¹⁸⁰ *Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1891*, p. 34.

work was entrusted to Kehoe. That he took the job seriously is evident from his letter to Archbishop James J. Gibbons:

. . . I am now experimenting about type and paper so as to make the catechism in such a shape that it will be cheap and in large type. I do not think it right that our children should be compelled or allowed to ruin their eyes in studying small type catechism—printed on wretched paper. I propose to better all this, but I need your authority and help.

Can you or will you copyright it? If you do, then the right to print could be withheld from all who would try to tinker [*sic*] it by adding a prayer book to it . . . or who would get it out in small type. It would be a caution that they must do right. I propose to sell it at \$2.50 per 100—that is cheap enough is it not?

I propose to sell plates to all the publishers that want to get it out and charge them $\frac{1}{2}$ the cost of type setting and the cost of cast-stereotypes. If you and the Archbishops and Bishop Spalding should recommend this plan, we would have a uniform catechism all over the country, page for page, line for line, so that a child leaving New York and going to Chicago to live would find page 10, 20, 50, or any other page, agreed exactly with the one used in the Chicago school. I think this could be done, by writing a letter to me asking to get out uniform plates for all who wished it—or something to that effect. Murphy has already agreed to take them,—so will Benziger and others for they will save half the cost of type setting. It is the small towns that will create trouble in printing it, as has been done with the old National Council Catechism.¹⁸¹

In spite of all the precaution taken, Sadlier insisted that the plates were never copyrighted and offered to sell them cheaper than Kehoe.¹⁸² Kehoe was furious. He wrote to Hammond:

I put it at such a price that no one can cut in on it without losing money . . . the bishops insist on good paper, good type. Well to do that it will cost per 1,000:

Paper	6.60
p. wk.	4.00
binding	3.00
royalty	.50

14.10 per 1,000 or 1.41 per 100.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Baltimore Cathedral Archives 79 F 8, Kehoe to Gibbons, March 5, 1885.

¹⁸² KHP, NDA, April 18, 1885.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1885.

There was no use in arguing; there was only one course to take if the catechism was to be protected from unofficial printings, and Kehoe took it. Among the office files is the following extract from a letter of Archbishop Corrigan of New York to Kehoe:

I learn with great regret of the design of publishing, without Episcopal sanction, a pirated edition of this catechism. As you are fully aware, our desire has been to secure an accurate and a presentable edition of this little book and the copyright was obtained for that purpose.

We will now take all proper measures to carry out our intentions and will not permit such intentions to be trifled with with impunity, as long as it is in our power to prevent such a result.¹⁸⁴

Whatever the archbishop said or did, it was effective. There were no pirated editions of the catechism.

Just at this time there was another threat of pirating. In 1884 Kehoe had obtained duplicates of the stereotype plates of the English *Catholic Dictionary*, by Addis and Arnold. With some revision and a few special additions for the American Church, within a year he was printing a fifth edition. Hammond wrote to warn him of a plan to pirate the dictionary presuming that the only copyrighted materials were the American additions. Kehoe set his mind at rest, any attempt to pirate would be found out.¹⁸⁵ There was one setback, however, that he received at this time. Gill of Dublin sent him a very polite but firm refusal to allow him to act as sole agent of the Gill line of books.¹⁸⁶ Fortunately he was more successful with some of the other firms, notably Ward & Downey.¹⁸⁷

During his trip abroad in May 1886 he received a financial report from his bookkeeper Mr. Duane:

Balance in bank as per last memo sent you		1490.86
May 22 deposit	192.21	
May 24 deposit	209.90	
May 26 deposit	105.90	508.01
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total		1998.87

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1885.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, April 3, 1886.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1885.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1886.

I wrote and sent off about thirty dunning letters one day last week.¹⁸⁸

One of the fruits of his European trip was the handling of still another periodical in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons, *Catholic Missions*, a monthly illustrated record. He was to have a stereomat of the cover so that it, together with local advertising, could be printed here. The main body of the material, however, was to be imported from England. He started with an order of 3,000 copies and distributed them widely, including some sent to the mailing list of the *Catholic World*.¹⁸⁹

By August Hammond had finally severed his relations with the company.¹⁹⁰ There were few applicants to take his place so Kehoe decided to try and get along without an agent since the operating costs were eating up all the profits. In February Hammond was anxious to get back and when he was refused demanded the return of the money he had lent to Kehoe.¹⁹¹

While he was trying to scrape up the money to pay Hammond, Hewitt, his printer, was burned out with a loss to Kehoe of about \$3,000.¹⁹² Apparently Hammond intimated that the fire was a stall of Kehoe to excuse his delay in paying. In reply, he received a rather robust warning but one that ended very uncharacteristically for Kehoe:

Do not try to irritate me. If you do, you will get the worst of it. The fire—you are sarcastic—4,800 lost. Insurance 5,000 and some companies try not to pay. No one can raise 2,000 on sight, I said on proper notice. Now tell me where to reach you, and before long I will notify you—and as I told you, you make out a draft at ten days sight with interest, attach note to draft. . . . I have nothing but trouble this year, water on goods from top floor, fire and several other things, . . . Besides, I am sick, no appetite and cannot sleep—but I'll conquer it all or die.¹⁹³

In April he wrote to Hammond that he now had nothing to do

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, May 26, 1886.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1886.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1886.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1887.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, March 18, 1887.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1887.

with either the *Catholic World* or the *Young Catholic*.¹⁹⁴ Thus was severed a link that had been of great advantage to the publishing firm.

And in November came the most melancholy news of all:

On the 9th inst. fire broke out in the big double building Nos. 7-9 Barclay St. N.Y.C. The fire started in one of the upper floors occupied by a dealer in picture frames etc. The Catholic Publication Society Co., which occupies the lower part of this building, suffered a loss that has been estimated to exceed fifty thousand dollars. They had just finished stocking up with Christmas books, etc. and the loss of these at the present moment is quite a serious one, even if the figures mentioned were exaggerated.¹⁹⁵

This must have been a really staggering blow, and from this time on, much of the correspondence is concerned with the business of loans. Unfortunately for Kehoe, George Hecker died within a few months, so that his traditional support and encouragement were not available.

Added to ill health and financial difficulties were personal family problems. Just a few days before Hecker died, Kehoe lost his four-and-a-half-year-old son; at the same time he got word that the diphtheria epidemic struck down the widow and six children of his dead brother, killing the two older girls.¹⁹⁶ Obviously he was in need of ready cash. He wrote to the Irish Catholic Colonization Association in Chicago about the sale of his lands in Nebraska and Illinois.¹⁹⁷ He also wrote to various friends and business associates, inquiring about the possibility of a loan and received at least one reply that must have been most welcome:

Your letter of the 9th just arrived this morning, your telegram came to hand yesterday.

In reply, so much confidence have I in you that I am willing to take it for granted that the statements you make are alright and that you will use me fair in this transaction. For this reason, in order that you can realize and be prepared for your customer at the exact time that he wants his money, I send enclosed herein my check on the New England Trust Co. for

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1887.

¹⁹⁵ *Publishers' Weekly*, XXXII (Nov. 12, 1887), 682.

¹⁹⁶ KHP, NDA, III, Kehoe to Mrs. Hecker, n.d.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1888.

five thousand (5,000) dollars, the amount required. You can have the proper papers all made out, signed and ready to pass over to me when I see you on Wednesday next.

Very truly yours
Thomas B. Noonan¹⁹⁸

In April he went to Europe again, this time visiting both France and Germany.¹⁹⁹ By November, he was arranging for another loan from Hammond.²⁰⁰ A few months later he also borrowed some money from a Mr. Hardy with the same astonishing trust shown in his honesty:

Enclosed find check for one thousand dollars on Citizens Savings Bank of St. Louis. You know better than I when you care to meet the note so you may make the time to suit your convenience.

Yours as ever
A. Hardy²⁰¹

The condition of the business seemed to justify the loans. Sales were brisk, and the *Catholic Dictionary*, which was being sold by subscription agent, could not be undersold.²⁰² He had also acquired a new traveling agent, Milton C. Dent, who was, judging by his letters, everything that Hammond wasn't—sober, conscientious, accurate, and apparently completely baffled by Kehoe's tirades.²⁰³

One minor irritation was the attacks made on the *Catholic Dictionary* by the *Freeman's Journal*. The book was sent to the Congregation of the Index in hopes that it would be condemned. Kehoe was not particularly disturbed by such sniping as he had the backing of good and eminent men and knew that the charges were distortions; but when no progress was made on the attack, the *Journal* changed direction and turned its shafts upon Kehoe. Among their charges were two which particularly annoyed him. They accused him of assailing the honor of the American hierarchy and of being a liar. These two provoked a printed memorial in

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1888.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1888.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1888.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1889.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, March 22, 1889.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1889.

which he defended both himself and the *Catholic Dictionary* with his usual vigor.²⁰⁴

By now he was apparently putting out a monthly catalogue and "book news."²⁰⁵ Also about this time, the Catholic Publication Society Company became the New York agents of the Catholic Truth Society of London, carrying all their books and providing catalogues of their publications, thus reintroducing a large line of tracts.²⁰⁶ But the crowning glory of these years, was the publication of a prayer book:

After nearly three years of arduous labor on the part of editors and publishers, the *Manual of Prayer for the Use of the Laity*, which the third plenary council of Baltimore ordered to be prepared and published, has been completed and is now for sale. Extraordinary pains were taken to have the book correct in every particular and up to the standard set by the liturgy of the church. To assure this, the proof-sheets were sent to every archbishop and bishop in the United States for criticism and suggestions. The Catholic laity therefore will now have a prayer-book commended and approved by the American hierarchy. Many commendations might be quoted . . . The Catholic Publication Society Company of New York has given the book a dress worthy of its contents. The resources of the printers' and binders' arts have been drawn upon without stint. Uniquely illustrated calendars and elegantly engraved initials and vignettes are supplemented by a large and clear-cut type which will be a welcome relief to aged or weary eyes. Nor has it been forgotten that 'a prayer book is a poor man's bible,' for the book may be had, in good plain binding, at the low price of \$1.25 . . . with costlier bindings to \$6.²⁰⁷

This was to be the high water mark of the C.P.S.Co. for within a few months Kehoe was dead:

Lawrence Kehoe, the well known manager of the Catholic Publication Society Company of New York died suddenly of pneumonia at his residence 161 Tompkins Ave. Brooklyn on February 27. . . . he devoted his best energies to raising the standard of Roman Catholic literature in the English language, compiling and editing himself a number of works, including, *The Life and Works of Archbishop Hughes*. He was also al-

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, III, July 19, 1889.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1889.

²⁰⁶ *Publishers' Weekly*, XXXVI (Sept. 7, 1889), 264.

²⁰⁷ *Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1890*, p. 83.

ways foremost in every reform measure touching the book trade. In 1883 he became a partner in the concern and made arrangements to represent Burnes and Oates in this country.²⁰⁸

From here on there were several interesting changes, but the process was one of steady disintegration. Perhaps it was because of the heavy debts already contracted by the firm, or the inability of the Kehoe family to back the business. Within a year, came the auctioning off of the fine personal library that Kehoe had acquired over the years.²⁰⁹ Perhaps it was because of the severance from the periodicals that provided so much of the work produced in the publishing firm. Most certainly it was due to the lack of a real successor with the drive and imagination of Lawrence Kehoe. There was an older son who had been in the office, but he decided to choose something else.²¹⁰ A younger son, John, did follow his father in the firm but never became a dominant figure.

After Kehoe's death the firm was reorganized:

The Catholic Publication Society Company announces the following change in the management consequent on the death of Mr. Lawrence Kehoe. Mr. K. W. Barry has assumed charge of the business management, Mr. Thomas Duane is the treasurer and Mr. John Kehoe is the secretary of the society. The work originated and sustained for so many years by the late Mr. Kehoe will be carried on as heretofore.²¹¹

The ties that had bound the C.P.S. and the Paulist Fathers had already been broken, and now there was a definite separation of the ways. The Paulist Fathers had taken over the printing of the *Catholic World* and the *Young Catholic* as well as of the *Monthly Calendar* and a number of the books written by their own men, and now they set out to establish a publishing firm of their own. On August 1, 1891, they took possession of their new quarters on West 60th Street, known as the "Columbus Press."²¹² By April 1892 they were overcrowded,²¹³ and a year later they announced the opening of a publishing and bookselling establishment under the

²⁰⁸ *Publishers' Weekly*, XXXVII (March 8, 1890), 357.

²⁰⁹ KHP, NDA, III, Catalogue of the Library of the late Lawrence Kehoe, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1891.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1882; May 11, 1889.

²¹¹ *Catholic World*, LI (June 1890), 423.

²¹² *Ibid.*, LIII (Aug. 1891), 786.

²¹³ *Publishers' Weekly*, XLI (April 16, 1892), 615.

name of "The Catholic Book Exchange."²¹⁴ In 1913 the name of their operation was changed to that of "The Paulist Press."²¹⁵

There was still a good deal of vigor left in the firm, and in December it had not only secured a renewal of the Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company contract to act as American distributors, but had contracted with the Jesuit Fathers to distribute their *Quarterly Series* as sole agent and had also entered into an agreement with the St. Anselm Society to act as agent.²¹⁶

By the end of their first year without Lawrence Kehoe, a radical change had taken place, a change of policy that spelled the end of the company as a publisher. The nature of the change is obvious from this advertisement which appeared in the trade paper:

Announcement—The Catholic Publication Society Company have secured the very desirable premises at no. 12 E. 17 St. and will occupy their new home on and after May 1, 1891.

This change, contemplated for several months is heartily commended by their patrons. They have already been assured of a cordial welcome from the publishers in whose midst they will be located.

The Company, heretofore, doing almost exclusively a wholesale business will give special attention to the retail trade in the interest of which elaborate arrangements have been made.²¹⁷

The house began to specialize in the production of handsomely bound prayer books²¹⁸ and in the use of outlets, boasting that they were the only house that did not sell to dry-goods stores, thereby giving the legitimate bookseller a chance to make a fair profit.²¹⁹ Apparently since they had become just a legitimate bookseller, they were beginning to realize how difficult it was for such to make a decent profit. By April they were in trouble. Mr. Wentworth, president of the company, resigned,²²⁰ to be followed in May by Mr. K. W. Barry, the manager.²²¹ In December it was

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XLIII (April 15, 1893), 617.

²¹⁵ Letter of Vincent F. Holden, C.S.P., Paulist Fathers' Archivist, Dec. 7, 1955, to the writer.

²¹⁶ *Publishers' Weekly*, XXXVIII (Dec. 13, 1890), 964.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIX (Feb. 14, 1891), 299.

²¹⁸ *Catholic World*, XLI (March 26, 1892), 483.

²¹⁹ *Publishers' Weekly*, XLI (Jan. 30, 1892), 263.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, XLI (April 16, 1892), 614.

²²¹ *Ibid.* (April 30, 1892), 672.

announced that Benziger Bros. had become the exclusive United States agent for the publications of Burns and Oates.²²²

In May of 1893 began the great fragmentation, with the following notice published in the trade journal:

Mrs. George V. Hecker, the Misses Caroline T. and Anna W. Hecker and Messrs. W. P. O'Conner and Edward P. Slevin have organized a corporation to be known as the "Catholic School Book Company," which will do business at 28 Barclay St., with W. P. O'Conner as president, E. P. Slevin as treasurer and John Kehoe as secretary. The new company has purchased the plates, copyrights etc. of the *Young Catholic Series*, formerly published by the C.P.S. which they intend to improve where needed and to issue as occasion demands new educational works.²²³

The new experiment had a limited success. Within five years it had ceased to function:

New York City—the stock of the Catholic School Book Company has been purchased by Schwartz, Kirwin & Fauss and the company has retired from business. The company was the successor of the Catholic Publication Society Company which had been established for about 30 years and was incorporated in 1892 or 1893.²²⁴

Actually, the original firm had survived the formation of the Catholic School Book Company by almost a year, but it was a delaying action. In the August 1894 *Publishers' Weekly* appeared the following announcement:

The Catholic Publication Society Company at #12 E. 17 St., N.Y.C., has become financially embarrassed, and on July 31, Wm. Angelo was appointed receiver in the Supreme Court, on the application of the trustees of the company, in pursuance of a resolution passed at a meeting of the stock holders on July 6 for the dissolution of the company. The officers are: Pres. Jos. M. Hennesy; Tres. Walter J. Hennesy; Sec. John Kehoe. The president holds 115 shares of stock in the company, the treasurer 135 and the secretary 5. The capital stock is \$45,000. It was said by the officers that the removal from Barclay St. to 17 St. in May 1891 has proved disastrous to the business of the company; sales have shrunk; the business has decreased

²²² *Ibid.*, XLII (Dec. 3, 1892), 1027.

²²³ *Ibid.*, XLIII (May 13, 1893), 733.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, LIII (June 4, 1898), 909.

until the income and profits are not sufficient to pay the running expenses; the company has been sued for rent; a note has gone to protest, with others to follow and the company is without means to pay its indebtedness. The liabilities are given at \$7,716. The value of the assets is not definitely known. They consist almost entirely of electrotypes plates and books. The business has been in existence since 1867. Fr. Isaac T. Hecker, of the Paulist Fathers was president up to December 1883 when the present company succeeded purchasing the business, it was said for \$45,000. The capital of the old company was \$135,000.²²⁵

The firm was not to remain in the hands of the receiver. Its plates were acquired by a new Catholic publishing firm, which had been announced the previous March:

A movement has begun in the Catholic church which is to be conducted on lines somewhat similar to those under which the Methodist Book Concern is carried on. It has been started by the Rev. James L. Meagher of Cazenovia, N.Y., who has founded the Christian Press Association, which is composed of priests and lay persons governed by a constitution approved by Msgr. Satolli, the Apostolic Delegate. The Association is recommended by more than forty Catholic prelates . . .

" . . . The Christian Press Association proposes to establish a publishing house, write books, translate from other languages, publish the Fathers of the Church in English, get priests to write for us, do in this country what the Abbé Migne did in France and perhaps more, use the modern improvements for the printing and scattering of Christian literature all over the world."²²⁶

The Association succeeded in enrolling over 650 priests in the cities east of the Mississippi. The Association bought the business of the C.P.S.Co. from the receivers and started out for themselves under the name of The Christian Press Association Publishing Company with their headquarters at 54 Barclay St., N.Y.²²⁷

In telling the story of a publishing firm, the recital of events gives part of the picture. Portraits of the men who ran the firm

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, XLVI (Aug. 4, 1894), 184.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, XLIV (March 3, 1894), 388.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, LIII (March 5, 1898), 438.

help toward understanding why it operated the way it did. But the ultimate test of a publishing firm must be the list of its publications, the record of its accomplishment. Unfortunately, it is impossible to assemble a complete quantitative list, or to make a qualitative analysis of the publications of the Catholic Publication Society. They did print some of the finest works in Catholic literature. Their production must have been large, as they were able, for instance, to supply a number of dioceses with school books for a considerable number of years.

From a card catalog of their production on deposit at the library of the Catholic University of America, it is evident that they produced over 1000 titles. There are 988 book titles listed and 73 pamphlets. Of these, the largest number are of books that may generally be classed as "religious." In fact, two-thirds of their total production was of this nature. One-third of their total production is made up of the three classes of religious biography, devotional literature, and fiction. Their production was divided into three main periods. The first period extends from the founding of the firm in 1866 to the end of the year 1873 and the beginning of the depression. During this time they produced over 303 titles of their own and carried many of the works of other publishers. The second period extended from 1873 to 1883, the year in which Kehoe took over control of the firm. During these hard times the number of titles dropped from 303 for the previous eight years to 208 for the ten year period. It must be remembered, however, that these were the years of the heavy school-book trade, and though the number of titles was less, very likely the actual number of books was as high as before. The third period covers the years from 1883 to 1893, the years which most clearly reflect the management of Lawrence Kehoe. During these years, despite the several misfortunes that befell the company, the number of titles exceeded even that of its first days. All in all, the total number of titles printed during these years was 477. This is especially noteworthy as the last three years, after Mr. Kehoe's death, produced only 47 titles. During these years, also, the proportion of religious works to general works in the field fell from two-thirds to three-fifths.

In order to estimate the relative importance of these figures, they must be compared with the production figures of others working in

the same field. Unfortunately, there are no comparable figures for the same period. In fact, there are few figures for the same field in any period. There is however an article²²⁸ that compares the production of Catholic publishers for the twelve year period from 1930 to 1942. In some ways this is an unfair comparison. The bibliographical record of the latter period is more complete; the population of the country had grown considerably with a proportionately larger number of Catholics; the Catholics were better educated and, therefore, should have provided a better market. Technically, the means of production and distribution were immensely improved; and the science of marketing had been developed to a high degree. In spite of these difficulties, since they are the only extant figures, they must be used. If one takes the first twelve years and the last twelve years of the C.P.S. and compares them with the other firms considered, the following ratings appear.

During the twelve year period of 1930 to 1942, only one Catholic publisher, Bruce, published between 400 and 500 titles. During both the first and last twelve year periods of its history, the C.P.S. published that number, 411 titles and 505 titles respectively. During the 1930-42 period, Bruce and Sheed and Ward produced approximately 30 new titles annually; Benziger and Herder approximately 20. The C.P.S. annually produced approximately 34 and 42 new titles for the two twelve year periods mentioned.

The proportionate number of titles in each subject field is roughly the same, about two-thirds of production being devoted to "religious" books. The preponderance of religious biography is about the same for both and the only really different emphasis which would seem to point up the difference in milieu is the greater emphasis in the modern firms on doctrinal theology as contrasted with the C.P.S. emphasis on apologetics.

The other major difference and an encouraging one, for our time, is that the list of the C.P.S. is composed almost exclusively of imports, translations, and reprints from the *Catholic World*. The modern presses seem to have more original and native authors,

²²⁸ Sister Mary Luella, O.P., "Catholic Commercial Publishing in the United States," *Catholic Library Practice* (Portland, Oregon, 1947), pp. 219-237.

although they still rely very heavily upon imports and translations.

The Catholic Publication Society failed only in the sense that it did not live up to the very sanguine hopes of its founders. It greatly enriched the literary life of the Catholics of the United States. It improved the printing and production of books in a way that was recognized generally in the book trade. It maintained through many hard years a level of production that Catholic publishers of recent times have yet to duplicate. All this it did as a publisher without the usual support from sales of religious articles and ecclesiastical furnishings. Its history stands as a tribute to its founder, Father Isaac Hecker, as a monument to its supporter, George V. Hecker, and as an inspiration to Catholic laity with the courage and ability of Lawrence Kehoe.

BENEDICT FENWICK, BISHOP OF BOSTON,
AMERICAN APPRENTICESHIP (1782-1817)

BY RICHARD K. MACMASTER, S.J.*

BENEDICT Joseph Fenwick was a Marylander and proud of his heritage. His father, as he liked to recall, was a direct descendant of Cuthbert Fenwick, a North Country Catholic who came to St. Mary's County with the first settlers in 1634, while his mother's family, the Medleys, were of equally old Maryland lineage.¹ "He was born on the 3rd of September, 1782, at his father's plantation on Beaverdam Manor, in St. Mary's County, Maryland, and was lineally descended from one of the 200 families that originally came over from England under the charter of Lord Baltimore and settled in that State."²

Cuthbert Fenwick established his family in the rolling country between the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay in southern Maryland, and generation after generation of his descendants had their great tobacco farms in the same area. Richard Fenwick, a grandson of the pioneer, purchased a plantation just north of Leonardtown called "Chance's Conclusion" in 1754. It was "a fertile and productive farm with level and gently rolling fields" and served as his home plantation. On his death, the property passed to his eldest son, George Fenwick. The Fenwicks lived there until 1772 when George Fenwick died, leaving instructions in his will that "Chance's Conclusion" should be sold and the proceeds divided between his widow, Jane (Plowden) Fenwick and their three children, George, William, and Jane. Their elder son, George Fenwick, was already living on his own plantation two miles east of Leonardtown. It was on this farm, "Swamp Island," that his son, the future Bishop of Boston, was born in 1782.³

George Fenwick of "Swamp Island" married his cousin Mar-

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¹ George L. Davis, *The Day Star of American Freedom* (New York, 1855), pp. 207-219. This sketch of the Fenwick family was contributed by the bishop's brother, Rev. George I. Fenwick, S.J.

² Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston, Brighton, Massachusetts. Hereafter AAB. Benedict J. Fenwick, "Memoirs to Serve for the Future Ecclesiastical History of the Diocese of Boston."

³ Information from Mr. Charles E. Fenwick of the St. Mary's County Historical Society, Leonardtown, Maryland.

garet Medley. Their first child was born in 1778 and baptized Enoch, although known in family circles as Tot.⁴ The four years' difference in age did not matter much on the farm and the two brothers were inseparable when they entered Georgetown in 1793, along with the third of the Fenwick boys, Frank, who was born at "Swamp Island" in 1785.⁵ The last of the family, George Ignatius, was born at Georgetown, District of Columbia, in 1801 and named for another brother who died in infancy.

Besides his immediate family, young Ben Fenwick had a great many cousins on neighboring plantations. Some of them were as distinguished in the Maryland of their day as their ancestor, Cuthbert Fenwick, had been in the early years of the colony.⁶ Colonel Ignatius Fenwick of "Cherryfields" helped frame the state constitution, while Athanasius and Colonel James Fenwick were members of the Maryland senate and Joseph Fenwick was the United States consul at Bordeaux, France.⁷

Ancestry counted for much in southern Maryland where the Fenwicks and their cousins had their great tobacco farms. Cut off by their religion from the political and social life of the rest of the colony for nearly a century after the Protestant rebellion of 1689, the Catholic planters had formed a close-knit society of their own. Family ties were stretched to include the most distant kindred, and blood, not wealth, was the basis of their aristocracy. Absorbed by the growing crops most of the year, usually in the fields with his gang of slaves, for Maryland planters did their own work, the farmer and his family would spend the winter visiting their relatives, or eight or ten neighbors would bring their horses and hounds together for a week of fox-hunting.⁸ Ben Fenwick's earliest years probably followed this local pattern. There was little tradition of schooling, and what education a boy had was commonly provided by his parents.⁹ Catholics had not been al-

⁴ Woodstock College Archives, Woodstock, Maryland. Hereafter WA. Benedict Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, June 21, 1823.

⁵ WA "Messrs. Enoch, Benedict, F. Fenwick in a/c with George Town College" (1795).

⁶ Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., "Cuthbert Fenwick, Pioneer Legislator of Maryland," *Catholic Historical Review*, V (1919), 156-174.

⁷ Davis, *Day Star*, pp. 217-218.

⁸ Samuel Tyler, *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney* (Baltimore, 1872), pp. 27-34. This chapter consists of Taney's own reminiscences.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

lowed to teach school after the rebellion, and only the wealthiest could afford to send their sons to St. Omer's or other European schools.¹⁰

Sunday broke the monotony of field-work or family gossip. The Church was the most important institution in the Catholic counties, especially among religious people like the Fenwicks. There were nightly prayers in the household and in the slave-quarters, but on Sunday the entire family and all their hands would walk or ride to the chapel for Mass.¹¹ There were few benches, so that most stood or knelt during the entire service, although the leading planters had their own pews.

Mass begins toward noon; during the celebration those who can read make use of prayer books, and pious hymns are sung, for the most part in English, by a choir of men and women. The sermon comes after the Gospel, and it is preceded by the Gospel read in the vernacular. The preacher either reads or delivers his sermon, according to his inclination, and sometimes it is deferred until after Mass, to enable the priest to take some refreshment which the faithful never fail to supply. . . . When Mass is over, the children recite the catechism, infants are baptized, or the ceremonies are supplied in the case of those already baptized in danger. . . . These labors being ended, the missionary remounts his horse and goes to dine at some neighboring house: invitations are not wanting.¹²

This custom of "eating the priest," as it was called, gave the family an easy familiarity with their pastor. There was a tradition of cooperation, too. In the 1780's a number of new chapels were built, among them one for negroes on the Medley plantation, by neighbors who pooled teams and slaves to work together.

The Fenwicks belonged to St. Aloysius' parish in Leonardtown, but these "chapels of ease" brought Father James Walton and the other Jesuits to their scattered parishioners. The parish was thus a union of small parishes. It offered a center, however, for the traditional Jesuit religious groups, the Men's Sodality and the

¹⁰ Edwin W. Beitzell, "Early Schools of Southern Maryland," *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, V (1957), 29-39.

¹¹ John A. Grassi, S.J., *Notizie Varie sullo stato presente della Repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America Settentrionale* (Rome, 1818), tr. in *Woodstock Letters*, XI (1882), 229-246.

¹² *Ibid.*, 238.

parishioners who pledged themselves to make the Holy Hour of Reparation together. The Fenwicks were among them, as Father Walton's records show.¹³

These were some phases of the life Ben Fenwick lived as a boy on his father's four-hundred acre plantation. George Fenwick, Ben's father, had another large farm in Prince George's County and in 1790 was the owner of a dozen slaves, a fact which suggests he was a man of moderate wealth.¹⁴ Tobacco did poorly on the worn-out land of the Chesapeake area, and the Revolution had disrupted the traditional trade with British merchants. In the old days George Fenwick and the other planters had dealt with Buchanan and Simpson or Findlay and Company of Glasgow through their agents at Leonardtown, and the company ships loaded tobacco in most of the coves and inlets of St. Mary's County.¹⁵ The war had destroyed this market without creating a new one. As a result there was a severe depression in Maryland in Ben's boyhood, and many of his cousins sought new farms in Kentucky and Georgia.¹⁶

George Fenwick never gave up his Maryland acres, but he did move to Georgetown, D.C., where he could more readily find commissions as a surveyor, especially with the new Federal District to be laid out. Like many Southerners of the day, George Fenwick had been trained in surveying and with a quick, precise mind became skilled in it, finding employment for his talent in many parts of Maryland, notably on the many Carroll plantations. In a few years he would describe himself simply as a surveyor, but he was active as a planter until his death in 1811. He was the author of a textbook on mathematics, *Fenwick's Arithmetical Essay*, printed at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1810, and probably had his own sons as his first pupils.¹⁷ The few existing letters of Ben

¹³ Edward A. Ryan, S.J., "Sketch of St. Aloysius' Parish, Leonardtown, Maryland," *Woodstock Letters*, LXXVII (1946), 321-341.

¹⁴ 1790 Census of Maryland. "In all these Virginia and Maryland counties the average holding ranged between 8.5 and 13 slaves." Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1952), p. 84.

¹⁵ Jacob M. Price, "Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XI (new series) (1954), 179-199.

¹⁶ Edwin W. Beitzell, "The Migration to Kentucky," *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, V (1957), 7-8.

¹⁷ WA, Benedict Fenwick to George Fenwick, December 4, 1810.

Fenwick to his family show that he and his father were close to each other and had similar opinions on most questions.

The bishop's biographers have recognized his mother, Margaret (Medley) Fenwick, as the chief force in the religious formation of her three priest sons, although his father was also a remarkably pious Catholic. Ben was devoted to his mother and always spoke of her in later life "as the one, under God, to whom he owed all that he possessed of religion and piety."¹⁸ Margaret Fenwick lived until 1829, surrounded first by her own children, then by her grand-children, the children of Ben's brother Frank, who died in 1825 when only forty years old. The bishop hurried down from Boston on word of his mother's last illness, but arrived only to hear of her peaceful death.¹⁹ Even in old age she was a merry, sprightly person, "full of life and jests," and one of the Georgetown scholastics, himself later Bishop of Chicago, wrote a lively description of Margaret Fenwick "tripping it up the hill almost daily to assist at Mass . . . and generally distancing her young attendants."²⁰ Doubtless Ben Fenwick's most characteristic trait was inherited from his "hearty and jovial" mother, who loved to laugh and joke as much as he did.

Although the family moved to Georgetown in 1791, and first the college and then the seminary became his life's center, plantation life was a part of Ben Fenwick's experience up to the time of his entrance into the Society of Jesus in 1806. Years later he would write wistfully of taking a holiday "in company with a few fowls and pigs, a barrel or two of flour and meal, a gun, powder and shot, a dog and a cat and a small garden" and to the end of his life liked to travel down from Boston to St. Inigoes to visit Father Joseph Carberry and other old friends in the scenes of his childhood, declaring that a return to "old principles, hog and hominy" was an occasional necessity.²¹

His most important inheritance from these childhood days may have been a typical 19th-century Southern mentality. He had all

¹⁸ Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops* (New York, 1872), I, 375.

¹⁹ WA, Benedict Fenwick to George Fenwick, May 28, 1829.

²⁰ WA, James Oliver Vandeveldt to George I. Fenwick, July 6, 1826.

²¹ J. Edwin Coad, "Recollections of Old St. Inigo's," *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, XXXIV (1899), 307.

the prejudices of his time and class, down to provincialism and brash Americanism. He did not consider slavery a controversial topic but did have a real concern for the humane treatment of the colored and would face up to the archbishop as a seminarian when there was a question of the Jesuits' slaves. To the end of his life he "hated bustle" and preferred to exchange yarns with anyone who would listen, and listeners were never wanting for his wit and intellectual achievements were proverbial. His most characteristic traits were his jokes and his oratorical prowess, according to one of his Jesuit superiors. That this good-natured Southern gentleman could become the great church-builder of New England and the champion of his immigrant flock is the remarkable development of his Jesuit years.²²

It was a development that had to take place in the Catholic Church in the United States, as immigration swelled its numbers from 35,000 concentrated in the traditionally Catholic counties of Maryland and neighboring states, with only a handful to support tiny congregations in the port cities from Salem to Savannah. That had been the situation in this country when Ben Fenwick was growing up on his father's plantation in St. Mary's County. When he came to Boston as bishop in 1825 the dominant group in the American Church, emerging from the bitter trustee struggles, were the Irish of the cities, and when he died in 1846 the great migration following the potato famine had already begun. His span of life thus saw the Catholic Church change itself from an institution steeped in the traditions of a Southern minority group and confined to a corner of rural Maryland into a major American faith, but one that was most at home among the Irish mill-hands of Lawrence and Lowell, an urban faith, an immigrant faith. The sheer weight of immigration would undoubtedly have accomplished this, but only at the expense of submerging the traditions of English Maryland Catholicism in the traditions of Irish and continental Catholicism. The Bishop of Boston who built churches and schools for the fugitives of the potato famine could have made the Catholic Church as alien an institution as its parishioners undoubtedly were at first. That Benedict Fenwick's roots were deep in the soil of

²² Thomas Hughes, S.J., *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal, Documents*, I, 803.

southern Maryland and that America and American institutions were deeply felt loyalties was more than just the heritage of a bishop. The years of pastoral experience as a Jesuit broadened his horizons and gave him a wider tolerance but left intact the essential heritage of a native American Catholicism. It was this heritage that Fenwick was to give to the Catholic Church in New England. Perhaps it was a more important gift than the churches and schools and the college he built for New England Catholics, more important than the Catholic press he established, for it made the Catholic Church an American institution, not a foreign colony.

In the winter of 1790-91 George Fenwick and his family moved up from their plantation in St. Mary's County to Georgetown in the District of Columbia.²³ Georgetown in those days was a small port city, already noted for its streets of fine homes. Ships could ascend the Potomac as far as Georgetown, and the town boasted a merchant fleet of its own, mostly small coasting vessels. Founded in 1751, only forty years before the Fenwicks moved there, its real period of growth only began after the Revolution.²⁴ There was a newness to the town and homes were being built on every side when George Fenwick had his own square three-story brick mansion erected on the heights of Georgetown.²⁵ The first building of the future Georgetown University was rapidly nearing completion and soon Georgetown Academy, as it was then called, would be ready to receive its first students.²⁶ The Fenwicks were the Academy's closest neighbors on the east, and in later years, when Mrs. Fenwick's three sons were members of the faculty and her grandson, George Fenwick, a student at the college, the Fenwick property seemed to be an integral part of the Georgetown campus. Besides the main house, the family owned "four valuable lots of

²³ Robert Lord *et al.*, *The History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), II, 7.

²⁴ Hugh Taggart, "Old Georgetown," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XI (1908), 3-55.

²⁵ J. Fairfax McLaughlin, "The Reverend George Fenwick, S.J.," *The United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, I (1887), 396.

²⁶ John M. Daley, S.J., *Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years* (Washington, 1957), pp. 48ff.

ground with two houses" adjacent to "the premises of the College."²⁷ After 1832 the family property actually became part of the college grounds, and the present Healy Hall marks the site of Ben Fenwick's boyhood home.²⁸

Although George Fenwick continued to operate his two tobacco plantations through managers, he regarded himself hereafter as a surveyor by profession.²⁹ Probably his appointment to lay out the new Federal District had a good deal to do with the family's choice of Georgetown as their home. Daniel Carroll, Thomas Johnson, and David Stuart, the three commissioners for the project, took office early in 1791, and the actual survey began soon afterward.³⁰

In moving to Georgetown, the Fenwicks had by no means left the influences of southern Maryland behind them. A considerable number of St. Mary's County families moved to Georgetown about this time, and Ignatius Fenwick, William Fenwick, and other cousins figure prominently in the records of the town. A good part of the future city of Washington was then the plantation of the Young family, relatives of the Fenwicks, and the records of Holy Trinity parish in Georgetown abound in names famous in southern Maryland. Father Francis Neale, a native of Charles County, Maryland, had organized the parish soon after his return to America in 1788 but only began soliciting funds to build a church in 1791.³¹ "Old Mrs. Fenwick," who may have been Ben's grandmother, Jane (Plowden) Fenwick, was the first to contribute.³²

Not long after the Fenwicks and their household had settled in Georgetown, the neighboring college building was ready for occupancy, and a notice appeared in *The Maryland Journal* for October 4, 1791, to announce that Georgetown Academy would

²⁷ *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*, Rome, Italy. Hereafter ARSI. Benedict Fenwick to Aloysius Fortis, September 28, 1825.

²⁸ WA, Benedict Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, April 25, 1832.

²⁹ Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., *Early Catholic Americana* (New York, 1939), p. 88.

³⁰ Mary Virginia Geiger, *Daniel Carroll, A Frammer of the Constitution* (Washington, 1943), pp. 166-174.

³¹ Laurence J. Kelly, S.J., *History of Holy Trinity Parish* (Baltimore, 1945), pp. 12-19.

³² Margaret Brent Downing, "The Catholic Church in the District of Columbia," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XV (1912), 38.

"admit scholars provided they have received some instruction in reading and writing, from which stage of education they will be conducted through the several branches of useful and classical learning."³³ It was only natural that the three young Fenwicks should eventually receive their education there, and on April 8, 1793, the three boys began their Georgetown career. Enoch Fenwick was nearly fifteen and Ben was ten and a half years old, but Frank, scarcely eight, trailed along to the class of rudiments.³⁴

Georgetown Academy was the culmination of many years of planning and preparation by Archbishop John Carroll of Baltimore. He wrote in 1788, "On this Academy is built all my hope of permanency and success to our H. Religion in the United States."³⁵ The archbishop had first planned to have his seminarians study at St. John's College in Annapolis, of which he was a trustee, and read their theology in private.³⁶ It was only when this plan proved unworkable that he thought of a specifically Catholic college. Carroll favored the best available education for his priests wherever it might be had. After Georgetown was begun largely through his efforts, he urged the Jesuit superiors to secure the best teachers, regardless of their background, and later criticized a policy of "excluding every teacher who had not been trained in the same routine of servile imitation and narrowness of studies as themselves."³⁷ He was a strong advocate of lay, rather than clerical, professors.

Circumstances prevented Carroll from attaining immediately his lofty aims for Georgetown. Since the requirements for entrance demanded only that a boy be eight years old and able to read,³⁸ there can be no question that Georgetown in its first years was simply an academy, but most of the great American colleges were little more than secondary schools in 1793. But even the youngest boys were expected to study Latin, Greek, English grammar, French, arithmetic, and geography; so the standards of

³³ Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 60.

³⁴ Lord, *Archdiocese of Boston*, II, 8.

³⁵ Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 47.

³⁶ Annabelle M. Melville, *John Carroll of Baltimore* (New York, 1955), p. 138.

³⁷ WA, John Carroll to John Grassi, September 24, 1813.

³⁸ Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 69.

the school were high from the first.³⁹ There were difficulties in securing properly qualified teachers, and one early member of the faculty recorded his own struggles to learn Greek while teaching it to his class.⁴⁰ The Georgetown faculty had a breadth to it that must have had a considerable effect in widening the horizon of young Ben Fenwick. Father John Anthony Grassi, S.J. wrote of the early years of the school that it had not only Protestant students but several Protestant faculty members.⁴¹ There were several European teachers. Besides the French Sulpicians who took a large part in Georgetown's formative years, Herman de Monti taught Latin and "good Church music" and several Irish and English laymen joined the faculty.⁴² For a boy from Catholic St. Mary's County, Georgetown brought association with students and teachers of other nations and other faiths.

It is unfortunate that none of Fenwick's schoolboy letters are extant. The only friend of his Georgetown days with whom he maintained contact in later life was James Bankhead, a Virginian who later became a colonel in the United States Army.⁴³ Bankhead was also the son of a tobacco planter, apparently a Protestant. Ben's letters to his own younger brother, George, were written long after he left the classrooms of Georgetown and was himself the president of the New York Literary Institution, but they may show some of his attitudes on his own schooldays, at least in retrospect. Without exception they urge young George to work hard at his studies and lay considerable stress on the achievement of a standing in class and a prize on commencement day.⁴⁴ In one he sends "My kind respects also to the Gentlemen of the College & tell them that the more they whip you, the better I shall like them, at least till you can show me a good Premium honourably acquired."⁴⁵ Emulation was a cardinal point in Jesuit pedagogic method, and Ben exhorts his brother elsewhere to be an

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴⁰ Gilbert Chinard, ed., *Souvenirs d' Edouard de Mondesir 1789-1811* (Baltimore, 1942), p. 32.

⁴¹ WA, John Grassi to unknown correspondent, October 8, 1811.

⁴² Daley, *Georgetown University*, pp. 82-83.

⁴³ Benedict Fenwick to James Wallace, April 10, 1822 in Peter Guilday, *Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927), I, 339.

⁴⁴ WA, Benedict Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, June 26, 1815.

⁴⁵ WA, Benedict Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, August 9, 1814.

"*Imperator Primus*," a reference to the traditional division of the class into two groups, each of which had a full complement of Roman legionary titles according to class standing.⁴⁶ Fourteen-year-old George is expected by his brother to "make a good speech at your approaching exhibition" and assumed to "be reading Poetry." Ben Fenwick writes, "Why don't you send me some of [your own] pieces? I should read them with much pleasure. I love the Muses though I cannot at present indulge much in their society."⁴⁷ At thirteen, George is presumed to be fluent enough in "Latin, Greek or French, to 'let the next' letter he wrote 'be in a Language other than English.'"⁴⁸

Ben Fenwick and his brothers lived with their family while attending Georgetown, and their father was only charged for candles and firewood used in classes, not for room and board.⁴⁹ He had to supply each of them with the school uniform of blue suit and red waistcoat.⁵⁰ Presumably he had to purchase the editions of the classical writers and the grammarians used in school. Years later Ben's father sent him an order of his own mathematics textbook and had him do his "best to have it circulated."⁵¹

In 1796 Father Guillaume Louis Du Bourg became president of Georgetown.⁵² His administration was an important period in the growth of the Fenwick brothers, and both Ben and Enoch enjoyed his friendship in later years, when Du Bourg served first as Bishop of New Orleans and later of Montauban in France.⁵³ Abbé Du Bourg was a native of Cap Francois, the son of a planter in Haiti, and did a great deal to attract new students to Georgetown. Under his administration the enrollment increased considerably, and a large number of Protestant boys came to Georgetown.⁵⁴ He accepted boys from "the French islands of Guadelupe, St. Domingo, etc." but did not demand "that someone in the United States should be responsible or act as guardians for them, as

⁴⁶ WA, Benedict Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, July 15, 1815.

⁴⁷ WA, Benedict Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, June 26, 1815.

⁴⁸ WA, Enoch Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, March 16, 1815.

⁴⁹ Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 84.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵¹ WA, Benedict Fenwick to George Fenwick, December 4, 1810.

⁵² Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 98.

⁵³ See Du Bourg to Cardinal Della Somalia, October 6, 1825 in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, III (1921), 194-196.

⁵⁴ Clarke, *Lives of Deceased Bishops*, I, 205ff.

was stipulated in the prospectus," consequently when "because of the war [in Haiti] they were not able to pay for their room and board . . . nevertheless it was necessary to support the boys because they could not be sent home."⁵⁵ The finances of the college suffered irreparable harm, and the corporation dismissed Abbé Du Bourg in 1798 as a result. He was also criticized for permitting students "to go home for dinner" and allowing other relaxations of Georgetown's semi-monastic code.⁵⁶

Abbé Du Bourg was the best liked of all the professors at Georgetown in Ben Fenwick's stay there. When the students learned of Du Bourg's dismissal, they arranged their own tribute to him. After graces had been said in the college refectory on December 18, 1798, Ben's friend, James Bankhead, rose and delivered an address of appreciation in the name of the students. Several of the faculty followed with extemporaneous tributes of their own, and Abbé Du Bourg, with tears filling his eyes, thanked them and expressed his own sorrow at leaving Georgetown.⁵⁷

Abbé Du Bourg had begun Enoch Fenwick on his teaching career early in 1797, and his influence may have started both Enoch and Ben on the way to the priesthood. Du Bourg had a high regard for both Fenwicks and wrote to Archbishop Carroll that Enoch was "the best scholar in the college . . . in every respect perfectly qualified to teach a higher school, and whom the most uniform and exceptionable behaviour entitles to my entire confidence."⁵⁸ The two Fenwicks did not lose contact with the abbé. He returned to the Sulpicians at Baltimore and opened St. Mary's College in that city soon afterwards, but continued to take an interest in the Fenwicks even after he became Bishop of New Orleans in 1815.⁵⁹ He was one of the strongest advocates of Ben Fenwick's appointment to an episcopal see before he became Bishop of Boston.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ ARSI, John A. Grassi, "Memorie sulla Compagnia di Gesu ristabilita negli Stati Uniti dell' America Settentrionale dall' 1810 al 1817," pp. 17-18. I am indebted to Arthur J. Arrieri, S.J., who has prepared a translation of this manuscript history, for references to Grassi's "Memorie."

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵⁷ Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 100.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵⁹ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 19.

⁶⁰ Du Bourg to Edward Fenwick, July 6, 1823 in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, I (1918), 280; Du Bourg to Della Somalia, October 6, 1825, *ibid.*, III (1921), 194-196.

Du Bourg's testimony as to Ben's "perfect eloquence in the French language" may be noted.⁶¹

Under the administration of Du Bourg's successor, Bishop Leonard Neale, new influences were felt in Georgetown. Neale, a native of southern Maryland and a man of remarkable piety, viewed the young college as chiefly a preparatory course for seminarians. This element had loomed large in Archbishop Carroll's mind in founding the academy with an aim towards educating future priests for the United States, but it had always been assumed that Georgetown was more than a seminary. Many of its students were not Catholics and many others clearly had no intention of studying for the priesthood. Bishop Neale felt that the education of these boys was a purely secondary and unessential aim of the school. His chief purpose was to foster vocations to the priesthood.⁶²

To protect his students from any possibility of evil influences, Bishop Neale adopted such stringent disciplinary rules and regulations as to turn the already strict school into a kind of monastery and thus effectively deterred many parents from sending their boys to the college or even permitting them to stay.⁶³ After the genial Du Bourg, whom James Bankhead referred to in his speech at the Abbé's departure as a father to the students, Bishop Neale could scarcely have been popular with the Georgetown students.⁶⁴

He was not only strict in his norms for college life, but, in an effort to pay off the large debt incurred by Abbé Du Bourg, practiced an economy that seemed almost penurious.⁶⁵ The college dwindled in numbers during his administration, but Bishop Neale had the satisfaction of seeing many of the remaining students grow in religion and piety. This was more important to him than progress in studies.⁶⁶ It is to Bishop Neale's credit that a course in philosophy was instituted in 1801.⁶⁷ Father Ambrose Maréchal, a

⁶¹ Du Bourg to Cardinal Fontana, February 8, 1822, *ibid.*, III (1921), 113-115.

⁶² Daley, *Georgetown University*, pp. 114-115.

⁶³ WA, John A. Grassi to unknown correspondent, October 8, 1811.

⁶⁴ Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 100.

⁶⁵ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 19.

⁶⁶ Leonard Neale to Marmaduke Stone, June 25, 1803, *Woodstock Letters*, XII (1883), 77-79.

⁶⁷ Leonard Neale to Marmaduke Stone, October 19, 1801, *ibid.*, XII (1883), 73-74.

French Sulpician, later third Archbishop of Baltimore, came to Georgetown to teach logic, ethics, and metaphysics in November 1801.⁶⁸ There were only seven students, including Enoch and Ben Fenwick, enrolled in the course, but it was a landmark in the growth of the new college.⁶⁹ Within a short time, there were only two other students, besides the Fenwicks, pursuing the courses in scholastic philosophy. In April 1802 Bishop Neale wrote to a friend in England, "We have but four Philosophers, three of whom are Clerics. Mr. Maréchal is my professor of Philosophy: he is one of the French gentlemen of the Seminary of Baltimore."⁷⁰ Considerable interest was taken in the course, and Bishop Neale was able to report that several students at William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Virginia, had inquired about the possibility of transfer to Georgetown.⁷¹

The young college was laboring under great difficulties, but the number of vocations to the priesthood fostered within it gave Bishop Neale hope for the future. He wrote in 1802, "I am obliged to have recourse to extremes, even to make scholars prefects, etc. We have some moderate prospects of future success. This blessed day, I gave the tonsure to six young men, all promising characters: more are coming on for next year."⁷² At a later date he wrote, "Thus the College of Geo. Town, tho' short in point of number of scholars has not been unfertile in genuine productions. The proof drawn from stubborn facts must be an ample support of the discipline and principles adopted in that College during my Presidency. It gives me great comfort to feel in my mind and conviction that I have contributed to the increase and welfare of the Society by raising and preparing worthy subjects to join it."⁷³

Ben Fenwick was one of those to whom Bishop Neale alluded in these letters. He and his brother Enoch were tonsured by Leonard Neale, Bishop of Gortyna and Coadjutor of Baltimore, on April

⁶⁸ Hughes, *Documents*, p. 766.

⁶⁹ John G. Shea, *History of Georgetown University* (Washington, 1891), p. 28.

⁷⁰ Leonard Neale to Marmaduke Stone, April 21, 1802, *Woodstock Letters*, XII (1883), 75-76.

⁷¹ Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 115.

⁷² Leonard Neale to Marmaduke Stone, April 21, 1802, *Woodstock Letters*, XII (1883), 75-76.

⁷³ Leonard Neale to Marmaduke Stone, February 16, 1808, *ibid.*, 82-83.

21, 1802, at Holy Trinity Church in Georgetown.⁷⁴ Henceforward both Fenwicks were clerics studying for the priesthood. In the absence of any contemporary account, there is no way of knowing when the two brothers decided to accept the call to the priesthood. The only fact that can be set down is that in the spring of 1802 when he was nineteen years old and a student of philosophy at Georgetown, Ben Fenwick officially began his progress towards the goal of ordination to the sacred ministry.

The ceremony in Holy Trinity Church changed Ben Fenwick's state in life but left his daily routine unaffected for the time being. He and his brother continued their struggles with Aristotle and Aquinas until August 1802, when Father Maréchal was recalled to Baltimore.⁷⁵ With the beginning of the fall term in September 1802, Ben Fenwick began his career as a teacher and "taught Humanities in the same College during three years."⁷⁶

As a member of the Georgetown faculty from September 1802 to September 1805, Ben Fenwick taught the class of poetry, a division in Jesuit schools at that time, in which boys of fourteen or fifteen learned the easier readings in English, French, Latin, and Greek from a single master.⁷⁷ Probably he did a good deal of reading himself. Father John Grassi complained of earlier times at Georgetown when clerical students "were taken to teach school. There they had the free use of an open library composed of modern French and English books, the most apt to imprint anti-Catholic and libertine principles."⁷⁸

Ben Fenwick was recognized as one of the most promising teachers at Georgetown, and he and his brother were described by Archbishop Carroll as "young men of brilliant parts."⁷⁹ Personally, he was a large, stout young man, easy-going and good-natured "almost to the point of indolence," a man who made friends easily, but one who could use the rod when pedagogic

⁷⁴ Lord, *Archdiocese of Boston*, II, 9.

⁷⁵ Hughes, *Documents*, p. 766.

⁷⁶ AAB, Fenwick, "Memoirs."

⁷⁷ Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 223.

⁷⁸ WA, Grassi to unknown correspondent, October 8, 1811.

⁷⁹ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, John Carroll to William Strickland, April 2, 1808.

technique warranted it.⁸⁰ He was not presumably the type of man who would become excited over some political question, but politics were in the air, and Father Grassi records the zeal with which the Georgetown faculty perused the gazettes and journals of the day.⁸¹ They were to a man Federalists and like their lay cousins in southern Maryland had no use for the Jeffersonian rabble of the cities.⁸² The two groups with whom Ben Fenwick was most closely identified made the leadership in the Catholic Church in America strongly Federalist. These were the Maryland planters, the class to which he belonged and from which most of the Jesuits in Maryland had sprung, and the French émigrés. He had already had a great deal of contact with French boys at Georgetown, and the professors who made the strongest impressions on him and remained his life-long friends, Guillaume Du Bourg, Ambrose Maréchal, and Benedict Flaget belonged to this group. The urban Catholics, on the other hand, were chiefly Irish and overwhelmingly Jeffersonian, "the most God-provoking Democrats on this side of Hell," as one Federalist wrote.⁸³ Whether actively or passively, Ben Fenwick at twenty-three was completely identified with the Federalist group in the Catholic Church. There is no evidence that he had ever been in a major city or had any acquaintance with Irishmen. It was a strange beginning for the leader of the Boston Irish.

The needs of Georgetown were far more pressing for the young teacher than any thought of remote Boston. Archbishop Carroll wrote that Georgetown College "has sunk lamentably in character; and no wonder it should; my worthy Coadjutor, Mr. Leon. Neale, was its president for many years, and his brother Francis his right hand man. You know that the latter is piety and virtue itself, but too illiterate to have any share in the direction of a literary institution."⁸⁴ In 1803 there were only forty students of all ages at the college, and Father Charles Sewall observed that its "bad success is owing to the want of proper masters, and better administration in sundry points."⁸⁵

⁸⁰ WA, Anthony Kohlmann to John Grassi, March 21, 1814.

⁸¹ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 51.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

⁸³ John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago, 1956), p. 43n.

⁸⁴ WA, Carroll to Strickland, April 2, 1808.

⁸⁵ WA, Charles Sewall to Nicholas Sewall, July 29, 1803.

It was not the only time that the educational needs of the Church in this country were sacrificed to apostolic interests, but Bishop Neale was probably the only college president who openly proclaimed his intention of sacrificing everything else to the hope of vocations to the priesthood. His letters are filled with his own realization of the needs of the American Church and his efforts to supply them.⁸⁶ It is interesting to note that, perhaps in conscious reaction, Ben Fenwick positively discouraged premature efforts at attracting boys to the priestly life when he was himself president of the New York Literary Institution and fought long and hard on this point with his prefect of discipline, Father Pierre Malou, S.J.⁸⁷

Ben Fenwick himself felt drawn to the still suppressed Society of Jesus. Nearly all the priests in Maryland had been Jesuits before the Society was suppressed by the Pope in 1773, and a number of the Georgetown professors were ex-Jesuits. As early as 1801 Bishop Neale wrote to Father Marmaduke Stone for further details on the reestablishment of the Jesuits in Sardinia, and the long hoped for restoration of the Society was probably a common topic of conversation at Georgetown, just as it runs through nearly all of Neale's letters.⁸⁸ In any event, Benedict Fenwick was one of the "young men in Tonsure," whose names were forwarded to the Jesuit superior in Russia as applicants to the Society of Jesus in the spring of 1803.⁸⁹

Thus it was as an aspirant to the Society of Jesus that two years later Ben Fenwick "left the College and repaired to Baltimore to commence the study of Theology in the Seminary of the Sulpicians at that time under the direction of the venerable P. Nagot."⁹⁰ He and his brother Enoch entered the seminary on September 19, 1805, and "having returned to Georgetown College for the vacation of 1806, he did not return to us again."⁹¹

⁸⁶ WA, John Carroll to Robert Molyneux, February 3, 1807.

⁸⁷ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, September 21, 1812.

⁸⁸ "Letters Relating to the Restoration of the Maryland Mission," *Woodstock Letters*, XII (1883), 68-86. Nearly all of these letters are from the Neale Correspondence in the Stonyhurst Archives.

⁸⁹ Leonard Neale to Marmaduke Stone, June 25, 1803, *Woodstock Letters*, XII (1883), 77-79.

⁹⁰ AAB, Fenwick, "Memoirs."

⁹¹ "St. Mary's Seminary Entrance Book," in William J. Ruane, S.S., *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States* (Baltimore, 1935), p. 59.

There were a number of future Jesuits studying at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore when Enoch and Ben Fenwick arrived there. As Bishop Neale wrote at the close of the 1803-04 term, "I have seven young clerics to commence theology next scholastic year, all postulants for the Society," this was the customary procedure.⁹² James Spink and Leonard Edelen would be ordained with the Fenwicks, and Joseph Mobberly would become a Jesuit Brother.⁹³ When Bishop of Boston, Fenwick was anxious to ordain his old classmate for the under-staffed diocese, but Brother Mobberly was not given permission by the General of the Society of Jesus to change his grade.⁹⁴ There were also a number of European seminarians, two Frenchmen, an Irishman and a German.⁹⁵ Probably living in such a mixed community helped to broaden Ben Fenwick's views. Crowded into the small brick house that served as classroom, residence, and chapel, the young students lived very much in common, although each had a tiny room for sleeping and study.⁹⁶ Within a short time Ben and Enoch Fenwick were the only Marylanders at the seminary. The other aspirant Jesuits returned to Georgetown, and a student from St. Mary's County returned to his home.⁹⁷

These years of study and preparation left few written records to trace the Fenwicks through their day to day order, except an occasional bill for tuition or books. The hard-pressed Jesuits found it difficult to pay, and their superior, Father Robert Molyneux, writes to complain of his procurator's "withholding the payment of the boarding of the two Fenwicks at the Seminary, and much more of the manner of doing [it]."⁹⁸ Archbishop Carroll was afraid "that these excellent young men, finding themselves so treated by us, will lose their attachment to their first friends, or perhaps . . . their vocation itself."⁹⁹ The same thought seems to have been in Father Molyneux's mind, since he asks, "But would not their

⁹² Leonard Neale to Marmaduke Stone, May 5, 1804, *Woodstock Letters*, XII (1883), 79-80.

⁹³ Ruane, *St. Sulpice*, p. 55.

⁹⁴ ARSI, Fenwick to Francis Dzierozynski, June 20, 1826.

⁹⁵ Ruane, *St. Sulpice*, p. 58.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁹⁸ WA, Robert Molyneux to Francis Neale, May 23, 1806.

⁹⁹ WA, John Carroll to Robert Molyneux, May 12, 1806.

Father, in case of their not being promoted to Holy Orders, think it just to indemnify us for that expence, if advanced by us?"¹⁰⁰

It is unfortunate that no letters exist to give us Ben Fenwick's reaction to these financial difficulties. It is clear enough that they did not shake him in his vocation to the priesthood or to the Society.

The Jesuit Order being at this time re-established in the United States by a Rescript of Pope Pius VII and some of the Fathers of that Society having arrived in the fall of 1806 in George Town and opened a Novitiate in the College, he returned to it after an absence of one year and was among the six first who entered it after the restoration of the Society in the United States. He continued the study of Theology during this term and at the conclusion of the course was received into the Society and ordained a priest by the Rt. Rev. Leonard Neale, Bishop of Gortyna and Coadjutor to the Bishop of Baltimore, in the Church of the Holy Trinity in George Town on the 11th of June, 1808.¹⁰¹

Père Dilhet of the Sulpician Seminary in Baltimore has an interesting note on the Fenwicks in his description of Georgetown, which may serve as a contemporary estimate of their progress at St. Mary's Seminary. He writes in 1807 of the new novitiate, ". . . the young novices are very promising, two especially, who have been students of the Sulpician Seminary at Baltimore, and who have been engaged in teaching at Georgetown College and are well advanced in their theological studies."¹⁰²

The Jesuit novitiate began with the traditional thirty-day retreat on October 10, 1806, and soon the young Jesuits were caught up in the steady routine of prayer, study, and manual labor. Their residence, described by Archbishop Carroll as "unfinished . . . unplastered & cold apartments" in the college building, was an object lesson in religious poverty.¹⁰³ The brief studies of the future Jesuits with the Sulpicians and the extreme poverty of the Society put much more study and hard work into their daily order than was customary, but the presence of Father Anthony Kohl-

¹⁰⁰ WA, Robert Molyneux to Francis Neale, November 7, 1806.

¹⁰¹ AAB, Fenwick, "Memoirs."

¹⁰² Jean Dilhet, *Etat de l'Eglise Catholique au Diocese des Etats Unis de l'Amerique Septentrionale* (Washington, 1922), p. 41.

¹⁰³ WA, John Carroll to Robert Molyneux, February 3, 1807.

mann as Socius and Father Francis Neale as Master of Novices made it certain that they would have time for prayer and spiritual reading as prescribed. Father Kohlmann himself gives some aspects of these two years of Ben Fenwick's life in letters to Father William Strickland:

God has sent us a number of young men to be, as it were, the corner-stones of the Society in this new world. They are twelve in number, viz: eight Scholastics (four of whom are in theology and four in philosophy) and four Coadj. Temp. The Novitiate is in a house separated from the College, but not far from it. Fr. Francis Neale is Master of Novices and I am his Socius . . . Our novices give catechism twice a week in the parish [Holy Trinity, Georgetown] and I do the same on Sundays and festivals, and our good Lord is pleased to bless these labors, because whereas formerly seven or eight children at most used to attend the instructions, now there are more than eighty and amongst them some Protestants and grown persons.¹⁰⁴

Father Kohlmann was for all practical purposes Master of Novices, although Father Francis Neale continued to hold that post.¹⁰⁵ Neale, a younger brother of Bishop Neale, "never was a Jesuit & never had time to study the Institute, so is quite ignorant of the practices of the Society. This same man is at once parish priest, so on this account he is out of the house from morning to night & sometimes he absents himself from the college entire months together."¹⁰⁶ Father Neale had been Ben Fenwick's pastor since the family first moved to Georgetown, and his zeal led him to establish St. Mary's Church in Alexandria, Virginia, and to go on extended missionary tours. His influence on Ben's religious formation was probably considerable, and the latter held the Neales in the highest respect and esteem for the remainder of their lives.¹⁰⁷ When Father Francis Neale died in 1837, Bishop Fenwick came down from Boston to offer the Requiem Mass at Holy Trinity Church.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Anthony Kohlmann to William Strickland, February 23, 1807.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, John Carroll to Charles Plowden, January 10, 1808.

¹⁰⁶ WA, Grassi to unknown correspondent, October 8, 1811.

¹⁰⁷ See his deferential letter to Francis Neale, June 10, 1811, in WA. There is a good sketch of Francis Neale in Kelly, *Holy Trinity Parish*, pp. 12-19.

¹⁰⁸ Daley, *Georgetown University*, p. 200.

His formation in the novitiate was due chiefly to Anthony Kohlmann, S.J. Father Kohlmann arrived in the United States early in November 1806 with Father Pierre Epinette.¹⁰⁹ In the spring of 1807 he was "on the Dutch mission," in Ben Fenwick's phrase, caring for the German parishes at Conewago and Lancaster, Pennsylvania,¹¹⁰ but soon afterward was permanently assigned to the Georgetown novitiate. An Alsatian by birth, Father Kohlmann was a man of great piety and learning. He had been a Capuchin for a very short time before entering the Society, and when he made any singular change in the practice of the novitiate, it was said, presumably by the older Maryland Jesuits, that he had the Capuchins "on the brain."¹¹¹ Father Kohlmann came "from Russia before finishing his two years of noviceship and was assigned to Father Francis as Socius in directing the novices, but the Masters and the novices could not get along."¹¹² Kohlmann had the greatest respect for Ben Fenwick and wrote some years later that he and Father John McElroy were the only Maryland Jesuits in whom he could place full confidence. They worked harmoniously together in New York from 1808 until 1815, and surviving letters note only an occasional disagreement on some trifling point. In 1817, however, Ben quarreled violently with Kohlmann over the removal of Father Charles Neale from his post as superior of the mission. If there were any disagreement between Father Francis Neale and Father Kohlmann in these days, it is extremely likely that Ben Fenwick's loyalty to a fellow Marylander would have won out over other considerations.

Ben Fenwick was studying "Divinity under Father Epinette,"¹¹³ during his novitiate. Father Pierre Epinette was a French Jesuit "renowned for his fluency in Oriental languages; he was however eccentric and ill-mannered," according to Father John Grassi.¹¹⁴ Ben made considerable progress in his two years under Father Epinette's tutelage; and in February 1808 Bishop Neale wrote to Father Marmaduke Stone: "Four novices of the first course are

¹⁰⁹ WA, Carroll to Molyneux, November 3, 1806.

¹¹⁰ WA, Carroll to Molyneux, April 7, May 10, May 22, 1807.

¹¹¹ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," pp. 25-26.

¹¹² WA, Grassi to unknown correspondent, October 8, 1811.

¹¹³ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, March 9, 1808.

¹¹⁴ Grassi, "Memorie," p. 53.

studying theology. They are in their second year & will be admitted to Priesthood as soon as circumstances will admit of it."¹¹⁵

On June 11, 1808, Ben Fenwick was ordained a priest in Holy Trinity Church, Georgetown, by Bishop Leonard Neale.¹¹⁶ After his ordination, he acted as assistant pastor of Holy Trinity, his own family's parish, for several months.¹¹⁷ In the autumn of 1808 he was ordered to New York with Father Kohlmann. His studies were over and his apostolate had begun.

When writing the brief autobiographical sketch that forms part of his "Memoirs," Bishop Fenwick summed up nine eventful years in a single sentence. "In the fall of the same year (1808), he was sent with the Reverend Anthony Kohlmann of the same Society upon the mission of New York, where he continued until the spring of 1817."¹¹⁸

The Jesuits came to New York at the request of the Archbishop of Baltimore. As early as February 1807, Carroll was anxious to replace Fathers William and Matthew O'Brien, the parish priests at St. Peter's Church on Barclay Street, by Father Kohlmann or some other Jesuit, but his pleas to the Jesuit superiors fell on deaf ears.¹¹⁹ Finally on July 1, 1808, he wrote to Father Molyneux: "Is it impossible to spare for N. York one of the Fenwicks? Tho' it derange the plan adopted for them, will it not be compensated by the footing obtained for the Society in that flourishing city? There will be a fine opportunity soon to effect this."¹²⁰ It was eventually only by a direct appeal to the two men he had selected that Carroll was able to secure Jesuits for New York. Kohlmann saw the need and attempted to secure the superior's approval. Ben Fenwick agreed: "This proposal was suggested to me at the same time; I also approved of it because I thought in my heart & do still think that it will be

¹¹⁵ WA, Leonard Neale to Marmaduke Stone, February 15, 1808.

¹¹⁶ AAB, Fenwick, "Memoirs."

¹¹⁷ Kelly, *Holy Trinity Parish*, p. 21.

¹¹⁸ AAB, Fenwick, "Memoirs."

¹¹⁹ WA, Carroll to Molyneux, February 25, 1807.

¹²⁰ WA, Carroll to Molyneux, July 1, 1808.

productive of no small benefit to the Society as well as to religion."¹²¹

The situation in New York was indeed serious. Father Louis Sibourd, the temporary pastor, was in poor health and left the city during the summer of 1808, although he agreed to continue at his post during the autumn as long as Carroll was unable to supply a successor. Father John Byrne, who was returning to his native Ireland, "alone remains there with the charge of that most numerous congregation, computed by some to consist of more than 12,000 souls."¹²² Father Sibourd and Byrne had been asked by Bishop Carroll to take charge of the New York parish during the interval from the removal of the O'Briens until a permanent pastor could be found. Father John Grassi's "Memorie" gives the reason for the sudden change. "Msgr. Carroll was obliged to send away from the Catholic Church of New York two priests who gave grave disedification by their open quarrels and discords at the altar and in the pulpit, sometimes even with physical violence, and by the excessive use of liquor."¹²³ No wonder Carroll wrote that "It is become absolutely necessary to place at the head of that church a priest of the most respectable character . . . to prevent the explosion of dreadful scandals there."¹²⁴

On August 15, 1808, Carroll wrote to Kohlmann that Sibourd "has agreed to resume the charge of it, at his return from the Springs, if he can have a reasonable companion, & to continue there till a provision can be made for a Successor. My request therefore is for one of the Fenwicks to go thither for the present." Carroll also hoped that Kohlmann himself would take the post permanently with one of the two brothers as his assistant.¹²⁵ Kohlmann replied that his own duty was to teach the philosophy course at Georgetown, but was noncommittal regarding the possibility of Ben Fenwick's acting as assistant to Father Sibourd.¹²⁶

The final result was to send Kohlmann and Fenwick, as well as the Jesuit scholastics to whom Kohlmann was to have taught

¹²¹ WA, Fenwick to Francis Neale, June 10, 1811.

¹²² WA, Carroll to Kohlmann, August 15, 1808.

¹²³ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 28.

¹²⁴ WA, Carroll to Molyneux, February 25, 1807.

¹²⁵ WA, Carroll to Kohlmann, August 15, 1808.

¹²⁶ Georgetown University Archives, Washington, D.C. Kohlmann to Carroll, August 18, 1808.

their philosophy, to New York. Carroll wrote some months later, "As there is not this year any course of Philosophy at G. Town, I have sent Mr. Kohlmann to N. York, where a zealous pastor was much wanted, and he is accompanied with a countryman of my own, lately ordained and out of his novitiate, of great promise and with four Scholastics, who have begun a school, from which much good is expected."¹²⁷

The precise date of their arrival in the city is not known. Father Kohlmann's name appears on the baptismal register of St. Peter's parish for the first time on November 5, 1808, and two days later Fenwick signed for the first time.¹²⁸ Presumably they came to New York a few days previously.

New York, even in 1808, presented a striking contrast to the Maryland life Fenwick had always known. It was to be seen whether the traditional Jesuit ways of dealing with souls, as modified in the one case by the experience of rural Maryland and in the other of urban Europe, would provide the remedy for New York Catholics. Both men had much to learn from American cities and much to teach them. For Fenwick these years were an unconscious training for the episcopate. To begin with, New York Catholics were mainly recent arrivals from Ireland. There were "some hundreds of French and as many Germans," but, Kohlmann wrote of his 14,000 parishioners, "the Congregation consists chiefly of Irish."¹²⁹ Although there was a scattering of well-to-do merchants among them, they were mostly poor people who worked at unskilled trades or operated small shops. The cartmen and drivers were nearly all Irish and "Irishmen load and unload the ships."¹³⁰ They could not afford the spontaneous generosity of southern Maryland. They were independent, too. New York had a long history of squabbles, rival pastors and noisy claims on both sides. Father Kohlmann was quick to realize where the fault lay, declaring, "The scandals given in this congregation,

¹²⁷ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Carroll to Strickland, December 3, 1808.

¹²⁸ St. Peter's Parish Archives, New York, N.Y., "Baptismal Register, A," pp. 120-121.

¹²⁹ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, November 7, 1808.

¹³⁰ William Cobbett, quoted in Peter Guilday, "Trusteeism," *Historical Records and Studies*, XVIII (1928), 50n.

as almost everywhere else in the country, by the clergymen have brought it very near its ruin."¹³¹

The arrival of the Jesuits seemed to herald a new era. The trustees did everything in their power to cooperate with their new pastors, and the Jesuits, in their turn, set about the spiritual reformation of the parish "by introducing exercises of piety, sodalities, establishing an extensive academy &c."¹³² The change in the parish was so remarkable that "It has been observed by several, that at the 6 o'clock Mass the church is almost more crowded than it was a year ago at the last Mass of 11 o'clock, and that there are as many communicants every Sunday than there were formerly at Easter."¹³³ This was the result of the parish mission with which the Jesuits began their New York apostolate. The mission, based on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola, had been found extremely effective in Maryland. Notable efforts were made to reach foreign-born Catholics, an apostolate that Fenwick followed vigorously in his Boston days, and Kohlmann reported to his superiors: "The communion rail daily filled, though deserted before; general confessions every day (for the majority of this immense parish are natives of Ireland, many of whom have never seen the face of a priest since their arrival in this country); three sermons, in English, French, and German, every Sunday, instead of the single one in English; three Catechism classes every Sunday instead of one."¹³⁴

The New York that Ben Fenwick knew was also the New York of the Baron Hyde de Neuville: the New York of muddy residential streets flanked by stately brick houses and small white-washed frame homes with peddlers and children and farmers delivering cartloads of firewood. Such was the scene that the Baroness Hyde de Neuville sketched from the window of the boarding house on Greenwich Street, just around the corner from St. Peter's Church.¹³⁵ It was probably familiar to Father Fenwick as he made his parish calls, for the Baron was one of his first friends in New York. Jean Guillaume, Baron Hyde de Neuville,

¹³¹ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, November 7, 1808.

¹³² *Ibid.*, Carroll to Plowden, September 19, 1809.

¹³³ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, March 21, 1809.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Franco-American Review*, II (1938), 217ff.

although born in France in 1776, was the grandson of English Jacobites and like Fenwick was an extremely stout man of remarkably good humor. He was easily the most eminent Catholic layman in the city and, despite his poverty, gave "elegant suppers" for the leaders of New York society. The Baron had founded a school for French children known as the Economical School and used to lecture daily in it, along with his friend, General Victor Moreau. Several prominent New Yorkers were connected with this school. DeWitt Clinton was president of its board of trustees and Charles Wilkes, head of the Bank of New York, was its treasurer. Dr. MacNeven, the Irish patriot, was also a trustee.¹³⁶ M. Prudhomme de Barré, principal of the Economical School, dedicated his *Elements of French Grammar* to Fenwick as a token of his friendship. Two other famous New York schools were directed by French émigrés. Mlle. Victoire Bancel, who married the artist Louis Francois Binsse de St. Victor at St. Peter's Church in 1811, conducted a fashionable school for girls at which Fenwick was an occasional visitor.¹³⁷ Her brother, M. Louis Bancel, was the principal of an equally fashionable boys' school, although its success was mostly in a period subsequent to Fenwick's stay in New York.¹³⁸ His colleague, Father Pierre Malou, S.J., was a close friend of M. Bancel and spent his last years as resident chaplain of the school.¹³⁹ Another friend and an extremely generous benefactor of the Jesuits in New York was the wine merchant Stephen Jumel, whose splendid mansion is still a Manhattan landmark.¹⁴⁰ Jumel was a trustee of St. Peter's Church, as were Thomas Stoughton, Dominick Lynch, Andrew Morris, and Cornelius Heeney, four wealthy merchants who had

¹³⁶ Jean-Guillaume Baron Hyde de Neuville, *Memoires et Souvenirs* (Paris, 1888), I, 480, 507. Other details are in Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York City* (New York, 1870), pp. 337-340 and 351-352.

¹³⁷ Thomas F. Meehan, "Catholic Literary New York," *Catholic Historical Review*, IV (1919), 402-403. George Parsons Lathrop, *A Story of Courage* (Cambridge, Mass., 1895), p. 253.

¹³⁸ M. Bancel's academy on the Bloomingdale Road was opened in 1813. In a sense it was the successor to de Neuville's school.

¹³⁹ Patrick J. Dignan, "Peter Anthony Malou, Patriot and Priest," *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, XLIII (1932), 94-96.

¹⁴⁰ Francis X. Curran, S.J., "The Jesuit Colony in New York (1808-1817)," *Historical Records and Studies*, XLII (1954), 84-85, has details on Jumel's gifts to the Ursuline Academy. See also Fenwick to John Hughes, April 22, 1846, New York Historical Society, Misc. MSS: Jumel.

many associations with Father Fenwick.¹⁴¹ His letters also mention Captain John O'Connor of the United States Army as a personal friend.¹⁴² These are the only New York names that can be garnered from his extant correspondence, aside from the parents of his pupils. Presumably his associations in New York were chiefly among the French émigrés and the wealthier native citizens.

Father Fenwick, himself a native American of the oldest colonial stock, stood "in as high an estimation of both the Catholics and Protestants (tho' not at all courting the friendship of the latter) as ever Catholic priest stood in this country."¹⁴³ At a slightly later date, Bishop Du Bourg wrote with pardonable exaggeration, "in the city of New York he counts as many friends as there are inhabitants, irrespective of religion or nationality."¹⁴⁴ At this time there was much good feeling between Catholics and Protestants in this country, and Fenwick's quiet zeal won friends for the Church on every side. Kohlmann wrote to a friend in Europe in 1810, "The American people are eager to hear the word of God and have much less prejudice against our religion than the sects in Europe. . . . In spite of the small number of priests the Church receives every day new recruits, and we have the pleasure to see Protestants of the very highest standing fill our pews on Sundays."¹⁴⁵ The faculty of Columbia, "who had never paid that attention to the Catholic clergy before," invited the two Jesuits to take part in the commencement exercises,¹⁴⁶ and Fenwick was asked to deliver the annual charity sermon on behalf of the New York Dispensary.¹⁴⁷ He was well-known in New York as a preacher and his sermon on the dignity of the episcopate at the Requiem Mass for the late Bishop Concanen in 1810 was

¹⁴¹ These names appear again and again in his correspondence. No other trustees are mentioned.

¹⁴² WA, Fenwick to Grassi, February 20, 1815.

¹⁴³ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, March 21, 1814.

¹⁴⁴ Bishop DuBourg to Cardinal Della Somalia, October 6, 1825 in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, III (1921), 194-196.

¹⁴⁵ Kohlmann to unknown correspondent, September 19, 1810, *Woodstock Letters*, XXXI (1902), 31.

¹⁴⁶ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, September 14, 1810.

¹⁴⁷ Parsons, *Catholic Americana*, p. 88.

delivered "to an audience so numerous as has scarce ever been seen before in any church."¹⁴⁸

Fenwick's letters are filled with references to converts to the Catholic faith, but he was in no sense a convert-maker. "Always kind and of a forgiving disposition to all," Fenwick knew "the genius of the Country better than any other father" and this helps to explain the successful apostolate of the quiet Southern gentleman, "so good natured as to sometimes want a little more energy."¹⁴⁹ There was very little need in 1808 to organize missions to non-Catholics. New Yorkers whose own churches banned even candles and flowers¹⁵⁰ often came to Mass at St. Peter's out of curiosity and stayed as sincere inquirers.¹⁵¹ Still others met the Jesuits through the New York Literary Institution, the school run by Fenwick, where most of the pupils were not of the Catholic faith.¹⁵² Fenwick was in fact opposed to proselytizing and believed that contact with Catholicism was enough, given the grace of God, to bring an unprejudiced mind to accept the faith.¹⁵³ He made it his own rule, consequently, to "explain the Catholic teaching, without at the same time giving any offense to Protestants."¹⁵⁴

An early experience of Fenwick and Kohlmann in New York gives a clear indication of their respective attitudes in dealing with non-Catholics. "A Quakeress, one of the most distinguished, and, so to speak, the spiritual mistress of her sect, upon hearing that there were Catholic priests in New York, and Jesuits too at that, was fired with zeal, and took the resolution to go and convert those whom prejudice made her believe to be the worst abomination of antichrist. She soon found them, and began right away to talk such outrageous nonsense that one of the missionaries thought it best to leave the room." This was Father Kohlmann, "The other, better acquainted with the customs of his country,

¹⁴⁸ Kohlmann to Carroll, October 12, 1810, *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, XX (1909), 282-284.

¹⁴⁹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, March 21, 1814.

¹⁵⁰ Charles H. Haswell, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* (New York, 1896), pp. 103-104.

¹⁵¹ Laurita Gibson, *Some Anglo-American Converts to Catholicism Prior to 1829* (Washington, 1943), p. 204.

¹⁵² WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, June 1, 1813.

¹⁵³ WA, Wallace to Grassi, July 1, 1813.

¹⁵⁴ WA, Fenwick to Francis Dzierozynski, December 26, 1826.

listened to her with patience, replied with politeness, did not lose his temper when interrupted, and having to some extent calmed down her fury, rendered her attentive and docile to his discourse. God blessed this conversation and others which were held upon the subject of religion; she was disabused of her false notions, and finally recognized the truth and embraced it."¹⁵⁵ Anne Harrison, the Quakeress of the anecdote, was baptized on December 9, 1808.¹⁵⁶

Mrs. Harrison was instrumental in bringing Fenwick and Kohlmann to the death-bed of the celebrated writer, Tom Paine, early in 1809.¹⁵⁷ Father Grassi published a brief account of this meeting in 1817, while Fenwick's own account was not written until 1833.¹⁵⁸ The circumstances of Fenwick's letter are interesting. Bishop England on a recruiting tour of Europe told some stories about the American Jesuits that scandalized Father Peter Kenney, S.J., the Provincial of Ireland. One of these stories was to the effect that Tom Paine had been willing to discuss Catholicism until Kohlmann exasperated him by his lack of tact. Kenney wrote to the Rector of Georgetown College, Thomas Mulledy, S.J., who asked Father George Fenwick, S.J., to get an account of the incident from his brother, as well as of the other anecdotes told by the Bishop of Charleston.¹⁵⁹ As Benedict Fenwick carefully suppresses or evades details in other anecdotes that would cast aspersions on his fellow priests, the possibility that Kohlmann's brusqueness may have irritated Paine at once must not be rejected out of hand.¹⁶⁰

According to Grassi, Paine "allowed two Jesuit priests to be called. They came and spoke with him; it seems that now and then he paid some attention to the truths which they suggested to him, but the acute pains which tormented him caused him to

¹⁵⁵ Grassi, *Notizie Varie*, *Woodstock Letters*, XI (1882), 243.

¹⁵⁶ Archives of St. Peter's Parish, New York, N.Y. "Baptismal Register, A," p. 122.

¹⁵⁷ WA, Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, December 28, 1833.

¹⁵⁸ Grassi's account was printed in his *Notizie Varie* in 1817. The translation is in *Woodstock Letters*, XI (1881), 229-230. The letter of Fenwick to his brother in 1833 was printed in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, V (1846), 558-561.

¹⁵⁹ Archives of the Irish Province of the Society of Jesus, Dublin, Ireland. Kenney to Thomas Mulledy, October 15, 1833.

¹⁶⁰ WA, Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, December 28, 1833.

break out in blasphemies and howls of despair. The Fathers, having failed to accomplish anything, withdrew in horror . . ."¹⁶¹ Fenwick's more circumstantial account makes it clear that Paine did not summon the two priests to his bedside. They came at the request of the good Mrs. Harrison, who was in some way acquainted with Paine or his land-lady and had access to the house. Kohlmann was opposed to the idea from the start. After the exchange of a few words, they withdrew.¹⁶²

More important were the conversations leading to actual conversions. The baptismal register of St. Peter's Parish shows a few adult baptisms every month during this period. Most of these converts were women. Sometimes two sisters were received, as Abigail and Elizabeth Hazard were in 1809.¹⁶³ Sometimes a young mother, possibly married to a Catholic, was baptized with her children.¹⁶⁴ A number of young men appear on the register, too. Fenwick refused to baptize children, unless a parent became a Catholic at the same time.¹⁶⁵ The Dyckman family were thus converted through their son, a pupil of Fenwick's at the Literary Institution.¹⁶⁶ Older people do not appear to have been amenable to a change of religion. There is scarcely anyone over forty mentioned in the registers.

The reformation of the parish proceeded apace. Kohlmann wrote in March 1809 that the "delapidated altar & sacristy have been embellished at a cost of more than \$500," and the "choir vested," as part of a general liturgical reform. Besides this, there was "Solemn Mass with Deacon & sung" every Sunday, and the children had been "taught to sing Canticles before and after catechisme [*sic*] & during Mass on Weekdays." Various spiritual ministries occupied the two Jesuits. Kohlmann lists "Heretics everyday instructed & received into the Church; sick at least 4 or 5 times each day attended with cheerfulness at the first call, & ordinarily such as stand in great need of instruction and general confessions; application made to all houses to raise a

¹⁶¹ Grassi, *Notizie Varie, Woodstock Letters*, XI (1881), 230.

¹⁶² WA, Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, December 28, 1833.

¹⁶³ Archives of St. Peter's Parish, New York, N.Y. "Baptismal Register, A," p. 138.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹⁶⁵ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, November 6, 1812.

¹⁶⁶ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, April 25, 1814.

subscription for the relief of the poor, by wh means 3000 doll. have been collected to be payed constantly every year. All this has struck the Congr. in such a manner that I hear [them] generally say that if a trustee, were he to admit the thought of sending us off, he would be publicly stoned by the people. To God alone all the glory."¹⁶⁷

The trustees had no intention of sending off such zealous pastors. Father Grassi writes: "When they arrived in New York, it is unimaginable how much the Catholics—most of whom were Irish—esteemed and respected Frs. Kohlmann and Fenwick. Because of their warmth, kindness and zeal they were not deterred either by difficulties or hardships or frequent importunities in serving the Church and the sick to the best of their ability. Fr. Kohlmann's noble way of acting, his cordiality and generosity made him and his companion the idol of those Catholics. Fr. Kohlmann had only to suggest some project for God's greater glory, as for instance the building of a school for the poor, the procuring of better vestments for the Church, and other secular works, and he very soon found the people ready to cooperate."¹⁶⁸

It was no wonder, though, that Kohlmann wrote in April 1809 that "this congregation is too extensive for two priests."¹⁶⁹ Besides the work of the ministry, he had reorganized the free school of the parish and secured Brother Joseph Mobberly, S.J., to teach in it and was beginning a new parish church in the then northern part of the city. This was St. Patrick's, "which was expected to serve as a cathedral for the Bishop, when he should arrive."¹⁷⁰ For the time being, Kohlmann decided that "Rd. Mr. Fenwick my worthy and able companion would attend the new church, if I had some other assistant."¹⁷¹ The cornerstone of the new church was laid with considerable ceremony in June 1809.¹⁷² Kohlmann, through the generosity of the parishioners, "was able to make a contract with the builders for a considerable amount of money, of which the sum of \$36,000. was immediately paid."¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, March 21, 1809.

¹⁶⁸ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," pp. 30-31.

¹⁶⁹ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, April 14, 1809.

¹⁷⁰ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, July 26, 1809; ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 33.

¹⁷¹ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, April 14, 1809.

¹⁷² Sister Mary Peter Carthy, *Old St. Patrick's* (New York, 1947), p. 7.

¹⁷³ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 33.

Although Kohlmann expected the church "will be finished against the end of next year,"¹⁷⁴ it was not to be ready for dedication until May 1815. Meanwhile, the "worthy and able" priest who was designated as its first rector was to be occupied with the cares of a prosperous school and a busy ministry.

The four scholastics who would otherwise have been studying philosophy at Georgetown under Father Kohlmann's direction came to New York to open a school. Since Kohlmann's "English is not perfect" and he needed an assistant pastor to "relieve him in his functions of preaching and catechising,"¹⁷⁵ there was never the slightest question that Fenwick should be the director of the school. A letter of Archbishop Carroll in December 1808 refers to the school as already functioning¹⁷⁶ and since Kohlmann wrote that "We live all together in the same house observing our religious discipline as much as it is consistent with our present situation," the original site must have been near St. Peter's Church on Barclay Street. Fenwick's brother, Father George Fenwick, S.J., wrote years later that the original school was "opened in a house in the city situated in Broadway" and that "the names of the scholastics seem to have been Michael White, James Redmond, Adam Marshall, and James Wallace."¹⁷⁷ Father Fenwick may have been in error on both these points, however. By April 1809 the school was "in a prosperous way" and had almost forty day-scholars.¹⁷⁸ There were no boarders at this time. In July Kohlmann wrote that the school "consists of about 35 of the most respectable children of the City, both Catholics and of other persuasions, among whom 4 are boarding at our house."¹⁷⁹

The New York Literary Institution, as the school was officially known, was a classical academy and never a college in the

¹⁷⁴ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, July 26, 1809.

¹⁷⁵ WA, Carroll to Molyneux, February 25, 1807.

¹⁷⁶ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Carroll to Strickland, December 3, 1808.

¹⁷⁷ WA, George I. Fenwick to unknown correspondent, January 11, 1856. The *New York Directory* for 1809 lists Fenwick's residence as 342 Broadway. Presumably this was the first site of the school.

¹⁷⁸ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, April 14, 1809.

¹⁷⁹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, July 26, 1809.

modern sense. No prospectus is now extant, but from the existing letters and reports the curriculum of the school is evident. "Instruction was given, of course, in religion. The school stressed languages heavily: it offered courses in English, Latin, Greek, French, and possibly Spanish and Italian."¹⁸⁰ At the same time the presence of Mr. James Wallace, S.J., on the faculty throughout the school's nearly six years of existence is proof enough that the courses in mathematics and natural science were superior to any similar courses offered elsewhere. Wallace, who published his *Short Treatise on Globes and Practical Astronomy* and a revised edition of *Bonnycastle's Algebra* while teaching at the Literary Institution, was one of the outstanding mathematicians of the day. Professor Robert Adrain of Columbia invited him to be co-editor of a projected scientific magazine in 1813, and in later years Wallace was himself professor of mathematics at the University of South Carolina.¹⁸¹

Nearly all the students were sons of New York families, as Benedict Fenwick was at pains to point out to Father Francis Neale in 1811.¹⁸² A very few came from out of town. Mrs. Benjamin Young (née Sarah Fenwick) sent her sons all the way from the District of Columbia in 1810, ignoring the claims of neighboring Georgetown.¹⁸³ A boy named Clermont, "son of a planter in Martinique," is also mentioned.¹⁸⁴ At all times a majority of the students seem to have been Protestants. When there were forty boarders at the school, only fifteen or sixteen boys were of the Catholic faith.¹⁸⁵ These boys were chiefly sons of wealthy merchants. "The most respectable families—amongst them the Governor of New York—send their children to us."¹⁸⁶ Robert R. Livingston, the famous chancellor, and Governor Daniel D. Tompkins supported the school, as did solid merchants like

¹⁸⁰ Curran, "Jesuit Colony," *Historical Records and Studies*, XLII (1954), 69.

¹⁸¹ There is an unsatisfactory sketch of Wallace in Edwin Luther Green, *A History of the University of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C., 1916), pp. 31-33. The chief source for his life is his letters in WA.

¹⁸² WA, Fenwick to Francis Neale, June 10, 1811.

¹⁸³ WA, Fenwick to George Fenwick, Sr., December 4, 1810.

¹⁸⁴ WA, James Wallace to Grassi, July 1, 1813.

¹⁸⁵ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, June 1, 1813.

¹⁸⁶ WA, Kohlmann to unknown correspondent. September 13, 1810.

Jacob Hicks, Lawrence Hartshorne, and Peter Burtzell.¹⁸⁷ The latter's ward later became Father James Neill, S.J., and Father Benjamin Aloysius Young, S.J., was also an alumnus of the Literary Institution.¹⁸⁸

Father Benedict Fenwick, S.J., was the principal of the school and taught the class of rhetoric during a few terms.¹⁸⁹ At other periods he was engaged as a teacher of theology, "giving a lesson of divinity every day to Messrs. Gobert, Carroll and Wallace."¹⁹⁰ In 1810 Michael White, a Jesuit scholastic, was "Professor of the English, Latin and Greek tongues," while James Wallace was "Master of Mathematics, one of the ablest in the United States."¹⁹¹ Until 1812 the classes in French were directed by "a native of France, much esteemed in town for his knowledge."¹⁹² Presumably this was M. Joseph Gobert, who succeeded Father Pierre Malou in the French class early in 1813.¹⁹³ Gobert was a layman but studied for the priesthood and was ordained by Bishop Neale in 1814.¹⁹⁴ He had earlier been associated with the *Ecole Economique*. Father Pierre Malou, S.J., an eccentric trouble-maker, taught French from September 1812 to January 1813.¹⁹⁵ Mr. Keegan, a lay professor, who later "went to the West and terminated as a Judge," was long associated with the school.¹⁹⁶ "Mr.

¹⁸⁷ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, November 28, 1810.

¹⁸⁸ Richard Lalor Burtzell, "Rev. James Neill 1798-1838," *Historical Records and Studies*, II (1900), 398-400. An obituary notice of Father Young by the Rev. George I. Fenwick, S.J., is in *Woodstock Letters*, XIV (1885), 246-247. Young entered the school when he was twelve years old. This was probably the average age.

¹⁸⁹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, September 11, 1812. "Rev. F. Fenwick will be the President, teach his classes as hitherto, attend in town on Sundays . . ."

¹⁹⁰ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, February 18, 1813. See also Thaddeus Brzozowski to Grassi, September 30, 1813, and Carroll to Grassi, March 8, 1813.

¹⁹¹ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, November 28, 1810.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, August 23, 1812; Wallace to Grassi, February 24, 1814.

¹⁹⁴ WA, Wallace to Grassi, February 24, 1814.

¹⁹⁵ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, September 21, 1812; Kohlmann to Grassi, February 18, 1813.

¹⁹⁶ WA, George I. Fenwick to unknown correspondent, January 11, 1856. Benedict Fenwick thought highly of him. See Wallace to Grassi, September 21, 1813.

McConnell, a young Irishman," was also employed as a lay teacher.¹⁹⁷

The intellectual climate in which Fenwick lived in these years was a stimulating one. James Wallace had a considerable reputation as a mathematician and his *Treatise on Globes* was introduced as a text at Columbia in 1814 through the good offices of his friend Robert Adrain, professor of mathematics there. Wallace wrote that Fenwick was also acquainted with Adrain and "advises me to keep on good terms with him" as it "will create a kind of friendship between houses of education."¹⁹⁸ Gobert, born in France in 1772, had "made a particular study of chemistry" and probably taught that subject at the *Ecole Economique* prior to its closing in 1813.¹⁹⁹ Of Fenwick himself, Kohlmann wrote in 1814: "He knows his Classicks, Greek and Latin, as well as any scholar in the country, he has a competent knowledge of his divinity and church history, tho' he be not so completely versed in them as in his Classicks. He has a solid, a quick and penetrating Judgement, an eminent talent for preaching and writing the English. Speaks the French language perfectly."²⁰⁰

In the spring of 1810, "a fine country house with three acres of good land" was purchased "four miles from the city" and the New York Literary Institution became a country boarding school.²⁰¹ This was probably in March, since Fenwick's name does not appear on the baptismal registers in March or April 1810 and only at intervals thereafter.²⁰² Kohlmann complained in September that "to attend about fourteen thousand souls is too heavy a work for one man," so Fenwick "will probably live again in the city, and visit the College once a week," but this plan does not appear to have been followed long.²⁰³ Father F. X. Miguel, "a Spanish priest, who speaks also Italian, but little

¹⁹⁷ WA, Wallace to Grassi, December 19, 1813. There was also a drawing master, a Mr. Williams. Fenwick to Grassi, February 19, 1813.

¹⁹⁸ WA, Wallace to Grassi, February 24, 1814.

¹⁹⁹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, August 23, 1812.

²⁰⁰ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, March 21, 1814.

²⁰¹ Kohlmann to unknown correspondent, September 13, 1810, *Woodstock Letters*, XXXI (1902), 31.

²⁰² Archives of St. Peter's Parish, New York, N.Y. "Baptismal Register, A," pp. 155-159 contain no entries by Fenwick.

²⁰³ WA, Stonyhurst Transcripts, Kohlmann to Strickland, November 28, 1810.

English, a man of good morals and much beloved by the pupils," seems to have acted as resident chaplain to the school in the absence of its headmaster.²⁰⁴

By December 1810, Fenwick was permanently living at the school, "since Rev. Fr. Charles Neale has appointed me superintendent of our new College," even though "the duty of preaching devolved solely on me, in consequence of Mr. Kohlmann's having altogether declined it." Presumably Fenwick stayed at the school and visited the city once a week to preach at all the Masses. Despite "our continual fatigue," the school was flourishing. It "has swelled of late beyond every expectation. . . . And if I may judge from the almost continual applications which we are under the necessity of refusing daily, I am satisfied that if I had a house three times as large as the present it would be filled in the space of two months." There were in all "60 odd persons living under the same roof, eight & Thirty of whom (making no mention of Day scholars) are students boarding with us, 7 Professors & the remainder servants." Already taxed to capacity, the school planned to expand. "I shall set out in a few weeks for Albany (where I have already been very lately) to petition the Legislature for the grant of a Lottery towards the erection of a new building. The Governor & principal members whose sons are with us have all promised us their influence & support."²⁰⁵

At the same time Father Francis Neale, president of Georgetown, began to see the growing New York school as a threat to his own college. He wrote to Fenwick intimating as much. Fenwick was both hurt and mystified. "For I do really believe that if the College of Geo-Town had Twenty Professors of the most eminent talents in addition to those it is already furnished with, it would not command twenty additional scholars out of the State of Maryland," since "So great is the fondness of parents for their children in this country & in general so little are they acquainted with the importance of a virtuous education that they will not be prevailed upon to send their children far from home." Far from draining students from Georgetown, "If we were not here, the

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* He apparently returned to Europe in September 1813. Miguel to Grassi, August 5, 1813.

²⁰⁵ WA, Fenwick to George Fenwick, Sr., December 4, 1810.

students we have would be in Protestant schools.”²⁰⁶ This matter was not to rest long. If Neale’s ruffled feelings were soothed for the time being, he and his brothers formed the fixed resolve that no Jesuit teachers should be taken from the established college to teach in New York.²⁰⁷ This was eventually the opinion of the Jesuit General in Rome, and on that rock the New York Literary Institution was broken.²⁰⁸

Bishop Jean Cheverus of Boston visited New York in November 1810 and was favorably impressed by Fenwick and the flourishing Literary Institution.²⁰⁹ Cheverus “spoke lengthily” with Fenwick on the subject of the Society’s privileges and the latter told Neale that “it is much to be apprehended that a coldness for and a want of confidence in the Society will take place . . . if the Society does not cease to insist on its prerogatives & make a less bold stand.” He added that the Society “exists indeed now but with their permission. No good can result from this difference [with the hierarchy] & a great deal of harm will follow.”²¹⁰ This explains Fenwick’s later actions in the lamentable affair of White Marsh. It was also evidently his first meeting with his predecessor of Boston, whose efforts to promote Fenwick to the episcopacy never tired.²¹¹

Besides the care of his own growing academy, Fenwick was apparently chaplain to the school kept by Mme. Louis François Binsse de St. Victor.²¹² Mlle Victoire Bancel de Confoulens had had an academy on Harrison Street since 1801 and maintained it even after her marriage to Louis François Binsse de St. Victor in 1810. One of the pupils there at this time was a little girl named Wilhelmina Jones, daughter of Commodore Jacob Jones, U.S.N. Wilhelmina decided to become a Catholic in 1812 when she was nine years old, but as Fenwick would not baptize children of non-Catholic parents, she did not actually become a Catholic until 1822. After her conversion, Miss Jones became Sister Stanislaus

²⁰⁶ WA, Fenwick to Francis Neale, June 10, 1811.

²⁰⁷ WA, Carroll to Grassi, September 24, 1813. For Kohlmann’s view of the Neale brothers, see Kohlmann to Grassi, January 4, 1811.

²⁰⁸ WA, Brzozowski to Grassi, July 8, 1813.

²⁰⁹ Annabelle M. Melville, *Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus* (Milwaukee, 1958), pp. 178-179.

²¹⁰ WA, Fenwick to Francis Neale, June 10, 1811.

²¹¹ Melville, *Cheverus*, p. 216; Lord, *Archdiocese of Boston*, I, 787.

²¹² Parsons, *Story of Courage*, p. 253.

of Georgetown Visitation Convent and apparently acquired Fenwick's activist turn of mind, for she was a remarkable worker for prison reform, particularly the appointment of chaplains, in later years.²¹³

The War of 1812 had far less effect on Fenwick and the other New York Jesuits than the severe depression caused by the Embargo Act, which left widespread unemployment in a parish of dock-workers and wagoners. The British fleet lay off Sandy Hook and never let New Yorkers forget the war, but except for warning his young brother, George, in the dark summer of 1814 not to come north on a visit, since "the English who are coming to New York would make a Prisoner of you & carry you away to Halifax,"²¹⁴ his letters do not allude to military affairs. Nevertheless the war years were a period of trial and strife for Ben Fenwick. If British frigates could not disturb his usual peace, a Belgian Jesuit made life so difficult at the Literary Institution that Fenwick never wanted to administer a college again.²¹⁵

The Literary Institution was still growing in the summer of 1812 and Kohlmann anticipated further progress when he assigned Fathers Adam Marshall and Pierre Malou to assist Fenwick in its management.²¹⁶ Father Marshall, ordained the previous year, was a native of Conewago, Pennsylvania, and three years younger than Fenwick. "Without energy, without spirit, and indeed destitute of every qualification," he soon exasperated even the easy-going, good-humored Fenwick by "his total inertia and want of everything."²¹⁷ Father Malou, on the other hand, was in his fifty-ninth year, but full of plans for the improvement of the

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-272.

²¹⁴ WA, Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, August 9, 1814.

²¹⁵ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, September 21, November 6, 1812.

²¹⁶ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, June 23, 1812. Grassi had succeeded Father Charles Neale, S.J., as superior of the Maryland mission. Previously he had been Rector of Georgetown College, where he had "begun to introduce a regular system of education . . . upon the plan usually practiced in the colleges of the Society." WA, Strickland to Grassi, February 12, April 1, 1812. ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," pp. 56-57, adds that owing to the war, word of the appointment was not received until June 1812.

²¹⁷ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, May 18, 1813.

school. Born of a wealthy and distinguished Belgian family, Malou had been a leader of the Belgian revolt against Austrian rule in 1789 and, after French armies overran his native land, again demanded independence for Belgium in the chambers of the French Convention. After a number of years as an exile in New Jersey, Malou returned to Europe and entered the Society of Jesus in 1805. In 1811 he sailed for America again as a Jesuit priest and in the summer of 1812 was assigned to New York.²¹⁸

Malou, as an ex-revolutionary officer, fancied himself something of a disciplinarian and was soon dissatisfied with Ben Fenwick's easy-going regime. He reported that "Discipline had to be restored, but it would not be Father Fenwick who would do it, as he is too weak and too good-natured for the job."²¹⁹ Malou hit upon a real difficulty when he wrote that "Father Fenwick because of his remarkable goodness (*bonté sans exemple*) is incapable of giving reprimands or saying anything that would cause pain to others."²²⁰ This was one of the key traits of Fenwick's character. Malou took the task of restoring discipline on himself and was soon involved in continual squabbles with the other faculty members and the servants. As for the boys, Malou found them "all vicious and a fair number of them exceedingly corrupt."²²¹ This was the beginning of a painful episode in Fenwick's life and would end in the destruction of the school he had labored so hard to found.

Despite Malou's lugubrious reports, many of which ran to extraordinary length, there is no reason to believe that conditions at the New York Literary Institution were below the Georgetown level.²²² Kohlmann, who was about to begin a missionary tour, wrote in August 1812 of the school's steady progress. Two of its students, Fisher and Murphy, had made an eight-day retreat and were ready to enter the Jesuit novitiate, as was the French professor, M. Joseph Gobert.²²³ On September 20, 1812, classes were resumed "with the addition of 4 new scholars," and Fenwick

²¹⁸ Dignan, "Malou," *passim*.

²¹⁹ WA, Malou to Grassi, August 26, 1812.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² WA, Malou to Grassi, December 2, 1812, devotes eight closely written pages to the state of "our unhappy college."

²²³ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, August 23, 1812.

reported improvements in all its departments.²²⁴ The only difficulty seemed to be with the prefect of discipline.

Fenwick had been at Georgetown during the latter part of the summer and returned to find that Malou "has not only arrived at the point of making every one living with him unhappy—but has done the house a lasting injury by advising persons of his acquaintance who were disposed to send us their children, not to send them."²²⁵ Fenwick saw that the only remedy was to send Malou away from the Literary Institution and replace him by M. Gobert's friend, Father Jean Baptiste Cary, S.J., then at St. Thomas Manor, Charles County, Maryland. At the same time Fenwick wrote, "I freely forgive him & overlook all that he has said about me."²²⁶ Another change that Fenwick suggested was to send Brother John McElroy, S.J., to New York to take over as procurator for Mr. James Wallace, who was studying theology under Fenwick's direction as well as teaching a full schedule of classes and needed someone to relieve him of the duties of book-keeper and buyer.²²⁷ If these changes had been made in 1812, the school might have been able to survive.

A third transfer that Fenwick urged upon Grassi indicated the extent to which Malou's activities had disturbed him. "I shall never cease to offer up [my Masses and prayers] for that blessed hour speedily to arrive when I shall have nothing to do with a College as I deem myself before God wholly incompetent to fill any office in it." He asked Grassi to remove him from his post at his earliest convenience and was hereafter looking for a possible way of escape from the burden of office.²²⁸ The arrival of Father Pierre Ladavière in November suggested an opening. Ladavière, who was later to be identified with Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama, was then a secular priest and did not enter the Society of Jesus until 1814 at Lyons, France.²²⁹ Fenwick at once suggested "how important it is for the welfare of the Society at New York

²²⁴ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, September 21, 1812.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* The same charge is made in Wallace to Grassi, September 21, 1812.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ There is a sketch of Ladavière in Michael Kenny, S.J., *Catholic Culture in Alabama* (New York, 1931), pp. 126-129.

that such a man be immediately nominated Rector of our College."²³⁰ He also wrote to his brother Enoch Fenwick, then Rector of Baltimore Cathedral, of his hopes for a successor, and in a few days Grassi had a letter from Archbishop Carroll advising against Fenwick's resignation. Of all the possible choices, "surely Mr. Bt. Fenwick is preferable to any other one."²³¹ Officially, the matter was closed, but there is no doubt that Benedict Fenwick never again wanted to assume the burdens of an administrative post.

Fenwick's attitude towards the many Protestant scholars at the Institution is clear from an embarrassing incident. When Joseph Barnes, a Quaker lad, announced his intention of becoming a Catholic, his father withdrew him and a younger brother from the school. The idea that the Institution was actively proselytizing soon spread. "Our College has lately lost 4 scholars & I do not know how many *more* will leave it soon from an alarm which some Protestant parents have taken that we wish to make Catholics of their children. . . . I am glad however that the indiscretion, if I may call it such, was not committed by any of the Professors but by one of the students who it appears has often mingled a little Catholicity with his conversation to Protestants."²³²

Malou left the Institution in December 1812, since he was in poor health, and resided in the city rectory. He had alienated many of its prospective patrons, presumably the French émigré merchants with whom he was always on good terms, and Kohlmann again asked for his transfer to another post.²³³ In February 1813 M. Gobert took his old classes again and Malou's connection with the school seemed to be severed.²³⁴ There were now only 36 pupils, but Fenwick continued to make improvements. With the aid of Mr. Williams, the drawing-master at the school, he arranged for an exhibition of a Magic Lanthorn.²³⁵ He was devoting a good deal of his time to coaching Messrs. Wallace, Gobert, and Carroll in theology²³⁶ and seems to have been temporary chaplain at the

²³⁰ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, November 6, 1812.

²³¹ WA, Carroll to Grassi, November 11, 1812.

²³² WA, Fenwick to Grassi, November 6, 1812.

²³³ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, December 11, 1812.

²³⁴ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, February 18, 1813.

²³⁵ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, February 19, 1813.

²³⁶ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, February 18, 1813.

Ursuline Academy,²³⁷ opened in 1812 chiefly through the generosity of Stephen Jumel, who mortgaged his country estate to pay the cost of building the convent.²³⁸

In the spring of 1813 Father Kohlmann's famous trial was held, establishing the legal right of a priest to maintain the seal of confession. Stolen property had been returned through Kohlmann's good offices and the police wanted him to reveal the name of the culprit. Kohlmann and the trustees of the parish pressed for a public trial of the issue, and in March Kohlmann jubilantly announced that "On the first Monday of next month, New York will hear a most interesting discussion on auricular Confession, on its immense utility even with regard to the Commonwealth, and which will be printed & immediately forwarded to you."²³⁹ This was the first reference to the lengthy exposition of the Church's doctrine on the sacrament of penance that was published as an appendix to William Sampson's *The Catholic Question in America* in 1813. Since this was presumably Fenwick's first published work, it is of considerable interest for his biography.²⁴⁰

In April 1813 efforts to have the question tried in open court appeared to have been frustrated. "The trustees however are determined to have it decided either in the next session or the session after, or if they refuse to bring it up, to carry it to the Supreme Court at Albany, where our Lawyers would have a large field to explain the proper tenets of the cath. church in order to refute the calumnies that may be objected by some bigotted men."²⁴¹ The trial was eventually opened on June 8, 1813, before Mayor DeWitt Clinton and Recorder Josiah Ogden Hoffman.²⁴² As might have been expected, the verdict was in Father Kohlmann's favor.²⁴³

William Sampson, the Irish Protestant lawyer who represented

²³⁷ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, February 19, 1813.

²³⁸ Curran, "Jesuit Colony," pp. 84-86.

²³⁹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, March 8, 1813.

²⁴⁰ On this subject see Frank B. Costello, S.J., "Kohlmann and Fenwick: Two New York Jesuits and a Treatise on Penance," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XXIII (1954), 334-344.

²⁴¹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, April 1, 1813.

²⁴² William Sampson, *The Catholic Question in America* (New York, 1813), p. 7.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 114. ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 32.

Kohlmann, was engaged "in making a report of the case lately argued and adjudged in our Court of Sessions" on July 22, 1813, and was "haunted by the printer's Devil," so publication must have been soon after that date.²⁴⁴ On July 23, James Wallace wrote that "Rev. Mr. Kohlmann's trial with a Treatise on Penance by the revd. Mr. Fenwick is now in the press & will soon be out."²⁴⁵

The lengthy appendix is dated July 14, 1813, and runs to 112 pages. It is a direct theological explanation of the Catholic doctrine and has no controversial animus. It quotes in one lengthy section from Protestant writers, many of them American, on the subject of auricular confession. Curiously, some dispute as to whether Fenwick or Kohlmann was its author has arisen. Presumably the idea was Kohlmann's, and Fenwick may have used his notes on the subject, but a careful examination of the text discloses nothing that could not have come from Fenwick's pen. He was then teaching theology and had an excellent theological library at his disposal.²⁴⁶ The style is unmistakably Fenwick's. The fact that the footnote technique used in this book and that in Kohlmann's *Unitarianism Philosophically and Theologically Examined* are practically identical does not seem a strong enough argument to reject Wallace's contemporary testimony. An identical technique is used in early issues of *The Pilot*, first called *The Jesuit*, with which Father Kohlmann had no known associations. It is most probable that Fenwick wrote the treatise on penance that was published in Sampson's *Catholic Question*.²⁴⁷

While Fenwick was busy writing on auricular confession, the fate of the New York Literary Institution was being weighed by his superiors in Georgetown and Rome. In May 1813 Kohlmann sent Grassi some reasons why no scandal would result if the school were closed, particularly if the students were transferred to Georgetown, and appeared to favor the idea of closing it.²⁴⁸ The General of the Society, Thaddeus Brzozowski, S.J., had pointed

²⁴⁴ William Sampson to Matthew Carey, July 22, 1813, *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, XIII (1902), 246-247.

²⁴⁵ WA, Wallace to Grassi, July 23, 1813.

²⁴⁶ WA, Wallace to Grassi, July 1, 1813, lists the books of theology, church history, and patristics then at the Literary Institution.

²⁴⁷ The opposite conclusion is drawn by Father Costello in his "Kohlmann and Fenwick."

²⁴⁸ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, May 18, 1813.

out that the resources of the Maryland Mission were too slight to support two schools and one would have to be sacrificed.²⁴⁹ Archbishop Carroll made it clear that Georgetown could not be abandoned for the still unproven New York foundation.²⁵⁰ In the event of its suppression, Fenwick could take charge of St. Patrick's Cathedral, which was nearing completion.²⁵¹ Fenwick himself proposed to Kohlmann that the school be reorganized, rather than closed. Kohlmann reported that "by sending off all the servants & replacing them by 2 or 3 Brothers, by admitting none but Catholics 20 of whom would support the house, and we have at present 15 or 16, in that case R. M. Fenwick with one or two masters would suffice; and the others could be sent to G:town and thus we would be able to attain our end."²⁵² Had Fenwick's plan been adopted the school might have continued to progress. It is interesting to note that he excluded non-Catholics from the revived institution, as he did from Holy Cross in 1842, when founding it.²⁵³ His friend James Wallace earlier opposed "the plan of having protestant boys mixed with Catholics, but in our present situation it is unavoidable."²⁵⁴ Perhaps he influenced Fenwick on this point.

Wallace himself was ordered to Georgetown and was glad to be withdrawn "from this unhappy Institution," but reported early in July that neither Kohlmann nor Fenwick had taken any steps towards winding up the school's affairs.²⁵⁵ Kohlmann, as a matter of fact, now hoped to maintain the school with lay professors, Messrs. Gobert, Carroll, and Keegan, under the direction of Father Franz X. Brosius, who was then teaching mathematics at Harvard, but had applied for the Society.²⁵⁶ In that case Fenwick would go to New York as Rector of the new cathedral.²⁵⁷ Grassi wrote to Fenwick at this point to learn his opinion,²⁵⁸ but Fen-

²⁴⁹ WA, Brzozowski to Grassi, July 8, 1813.

²⁵⁰ WA, Carroll to Grassi, July 27, September 24, 1813; November 11, 1812.

²⁵¹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, May 18, 1813.

²⁵² WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, June 1, 1813.

²⁵³ Lord, *Archdiocese of Boston*, II, 320-329.

²⁵⁴ WA, Wallace to Grassi, September 21, 1812. The same idea recurs in Wallace to Grassi, July 1, 1813.

²⁵⁵ WA, Wallace to Grassi, July 1, 1813.

²⁵⁶ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, June 1, 1813.

²⁵⁷ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, May 18, 1813.

²⁵⁸ WA, Grassi to Fenwick, July —, 1813.

wick's answer has not been preserved. When Wallace pointed out to him that he and Marshall were to be withdrawn in August, Fenwick "seemed entirely ignorant of this and thought (though contrary to his former determination of busting up [sic] at August) that it would not answer at present but remarked that if we went away he would employ other Teachers and carry on the Institution as usual but would no longer consider it as at all belonging to or under the direction of the Society but as an Instn. attached to this Congregation for their benefit."²⁵⁹

For the remainder of his stay in New York, despite his own repugnance to administering a school, Fenwick made every effort to maintain the Literary Institution for the benefit of the Catholics of the city. Grassi apologized for "the grief which the suppression of this Inst. would have caused to Y. R. and others who spent so many labors for so long a time for its success," but insisted that it be closed.²⁶⁰ Fenwick replied that the school would be closed on November 1, 1813, "a result to which I accede with the utmost reluctance & not without many well founded apprehensions of consequences equally hurtful to my feelings & injurious to the credit of the Society." Since Grassi intended to withdraw all of the Jesuit teachers, there was nothing he could do but yield to the superior's decision. He took the opportunity to object to Kohlmann's remark that Fenwick was surfeited with Wallace's continual grumbling. "However Mr. Wallace and myself might have differed in some things, yet I must say this for him that he has been of more real utility to this house than all the others I have put together with Mr. Marshall at their head." He asked consequently for permission for Wallace to remain at the school until the 1st of November. Marshall and the other Jesuits would return at once to Georgetown.²⁶¹

Classes reopened in September with 31 boarders and several day-scholars. Fenwick refused to allow anything to be said to the boys regarding the closing of the school. Presumably he hoped to keep it intact until the end of the academic year.²⁶² In this he had the blessing of Archbishop Carroll, who seconded the plan of

²⁵⁹ WA, Wallace to Grassi, July 23, 1813.

²⁶⁰ WA, Grassi to Fenwick, August —, 1813.

²⁶¹ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, August 3, 1813.

²⁶² WA, Wallace to Grassi, September 21, 1813.

keeping the school open under lay instructors, even though he "could never approve of the retention there of those members of the Society, whom you judged essential to G.T. College."²⁶³

Since Wallace had business problems to settle with the publisher of his *Treatise on Globes*, Fenwick determined to carry on classes as usual so long as he remained in New York. Mr. Keegan and the other lay teachers made up the rest of the faculty.²⁶⁴ The 1st of November, consequently, came and went and "The place goes on as usual, no addition of new members, people living in suspense."²⁶⁵ That was to remain the situation until the school finally closed its doors in April 1814, after Wallace's long-delayed departure for Georgetown.²⁶⁶

Meanwhile in October 1813, anticipating the imminent return of Fenwick from New York, Father Grassi had made arrangements for him to prepare the residence at White Marsh, Maryland, as a new site for the novitiate of the Society of Jesus.²⁶⁷ The novices had been moved inland from St. Inigoes, because of British raids in the Chesapeake Bay area, early in April 1813, but the temporary residence at Frederick, Maryland, was not appropriate, and in June of that year White Marsh was selected as a permanent novitiate.²⁶⁸ In November Grassi discovered that Fenwick was not ready to return to Maryland²⁶⁹ and later in the month Archbishop Carroll wrote that he was "terrified by the idea of calling Mr. Fenwick from New York. This very day I was assailed by a letter from one of the most respectable Catholics there, a man high in office, denouncing most fatal consequences, perpetual distrust of, & enmity to the Society, if your order for his removal, of which there was a rumor about, should be executed."²⁷⁰ Kohlmann wrote, with some satisfaction, that "The letter the Archbp. received respecting R. F. Fenwick was from Mr. Stoughton, Trustee and Spanish consul, and has, I have no

²⁶³ WA, Carroll to Grassi, September 24, 1813.

²⁶⁴ WA, Wallace to Grassi, September 21, October 26, 1813.

²⁶⁵ WA, Wallace to Grassi, November 16, 1813.

²⁶⁶ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, April 5, 1814.

²⁶⁷ Hughes, *Documents*, pp. 366-368 and 371.

²⁶⁸ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," pp. 58 ff.

²⁶⁹ Hughes, *Documents*, p. 371.

²⁷⁰ WA, Carroll to Grassi, November 22, 1813.

doubt, its desired effect."²⁷¹ In fact, Fenwick was not to leave New York until late in the spring of 1817.

While awaiting the end of the New York Literary Institution, Fenwick was busy with plans for "a monthly or at least a quarterly Catholic publication in form of a Journal or Magazine. . . . which I am confident will produce a great deal of good in this country."²⁷² Later Grassi wrote that "Ours at New York are about to abandon that school they had begun near that city. After this affair is settled, Fr. Fenwick will be able to think more seriously on the proposed Magazine publication."²⁷³ Unfortunately, nothing came of it, although the first Catholic Directory, really a Catholic almanac, was published under his direction in 1816 and contains a notice of the forthcoming publication of the first number of a new Catholic magazine. Matthew Field was to be its publisher and Fenwick its editor, but his recall to Georgetown early in 1817 put an end to these plans.²⁷⁴

The school struggled on, meanwhile, since Fenwick was "now fully persuaded that we could not with propriety break up before the end of the Scholastic year after all our Solemn promises to parents of continuing for a considerable time."²⁷⁵ In December he was "somewhat unwell with a dysentery & having to prepare several sermons for Christmas, &c."²⁷⁶ Fenwick still did all the preaching in the parish.

Finally in February 1814, word was given out that the New York Literary Institution would close permanently at the Easter recess. Parents still applied and "Fenwick has refused 8 or 9 this month past not wishing them to commence for so short a time."²⁷⁷ The property was advertised as for sale in the New York papers in March, and in April Fenwick announced: "The New York Literary Institution is sold. The purchaser is Dom. Augustin, the general of the order of the Trappists, who arrived not more than a week ago in New York with four young men of his order.

²⁷¹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, November 30, 1813.

²⁷² Grassi to Simon Bruté de Remur, November 24, 1813 in *Mid-America*, XV (1932), 248-249.

²⁷³ Grassi to Simon Bruté de Remur, April 11, 1814, *ibid.*, p. 252.

²⁷⁴ *The Laity's Directory to the Church Services for the Year of Our Lord 1817* (New York, 1817) contains an advertisement for this magazine.

²⁷⁵ WA, Wallace to Grassi, December 7, 1813.

²⁷⁶ WA, Wallace to Grassi, December 19, 1813.

²⁷⁷ WA, Wallace to Grassi, February 24, 1814.

. . . The Revd. General has pressed us to suffer him & his brethren to occupy a part of the house immediately as he has no where else to go—which we have agreed to—He takes possession of the whole on the 1st of May.”²⁷⁸

Thus, on May 1, 1814, Father Fenwick left the school building for the last time and drove to the rectory at 30 Reade Street, near Broadway. Another chapter in his life had closed.²⁷⁹

When Benedict Fenwick returned to the city in May 1814 after turning over the buildings of the New York Literary Institution to the Trappists, he had the pastoral care of a vast parish to occupy his time. It had always been understood that when the new cathedral was completed, Fenwick would take charge of it.²⁸⁰ War shortages and the difficulty of raising sufficient funds had delayed its construction considerably, but in 1814 St. Patrick’s Cathedral was fast becoming a reality. It was finally ready for dedication in the spring of 1815 and, by that time, Fenwick was no longer assistant pastor of St. Peter’s, but alone had charge of the spiritual welfare of 15,000 New Yorkers. This year as Father Kohlmann’s assistant was a busy one and a preparation for an even more active apostolate after Kohlmann returned to Maryland in 1815.

Fenwick was not the sort of man to spell out in detail the extent of his own labors. A trip he had planned to Georgetown was canceled “because I am too busy,”²⁸¹ and he refers in passing to the unusually large number of confessions at Christmas time,²⁸² but it is only from Kohlmann’s letters that we learn of the “great edification” he gave in his parish work and of his attachment to the confessional.²⁸³

Meanwhile, the affairs of the Literary Institution again occupied his mind. He wrote in June that “Yesterday I had a frank & pertinent conversation with the Abbot of La Trappe respecting

²⁷⁸ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, April 5, 1814.

²⁷⁹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, April 25, 1814.

²⁸⁰ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, March 21, 1814.

²⁸¹ WA, Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, August 9, 1814.

²⁸² WA, Fenwick to Grassi, December 23, 1814.

²⁸³ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, March 21, 1814.

the Lit. Institution. It is now reduced to a certainty that the good Abbot does not possess the means which he gave me to understand he did when he undertook to purchase the above place. . . . He is now about to open a subscription which will be under the direction of Mr. [Cornelius] Heeney. If this does not succeed agreeably to his wishes & the object for which it is intended, he intends to return to France with all his Suite & Baggage & the property falls once more on our shoulders."²⁸⁴ This was precisely what happened. Father Grassi records that the Trappists "opened a school" and "presented a program of their course of studies," but on hearing of the restoration of the Bourbons, Dom Augustin "thought of nothing else but returning to France and left in fact with all his religious."²⁸⁵

At the same time Fenwick asked Grassi to make arrangements at Georgetown to take a boy named Dugoung, whose family was in Europe and from whom he had not had any news, as a charity student. Presumably he had been living at the Institution before it was closed. The incident was typical of Fenwick's charity.²⁸⁶

In October 1814 the Jesuit superior decided to withdraw Father Kohlmann from New York. Fenwick does not seem to have been informed of this. Kohlmann asked Grassi to explain the need for his transfer to Georgetown to the trustees, but was glad to go south. At the same time, Father Pierre Malou was ordered to Newburgh-on-Hudson, to care for the Catholics there. As far as possible Kohlmann had visited there in previous years.²⁸⁷ Malou appeared to be happy in his new post and was busy with his pastoral duties.²⁸⁸ In February 1815, however, he migrated to New York and installed himself as Fenwick's assistant, after Kohlmann left the city.²⁸⁹ Father Kohlmann left New York in January and was at White Marsh, Maryland, waiting to receive the Jesuit novices as their new novice-master on February 6, 1815.²⁹⁰ He never returned to New York.

The summer and autumn of 1814 brought to New York news of

²⁸⁴ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, June 27, 1814.

²⁸⁵ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 68.

²⁸⁶ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, June 27, 1814.

²⁸⁷ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, October 14, 1814.

²⁸⁸ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, December 19, 1814.

²⁸⁹ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, March 7, 1815.

²⁹⁰ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 70.

stirring events abroad. While Fenwick was remote indeed from the painstaking efforts of Metternich and Castlereagh to overthrow Napoleon and restore the world to a long sought peace, there is every reason to believe he followed in the American and British newspapers the changes going on in Europe. His extant letters do not contain any detailed account of world news, but Kohlmann objected on one occasion to his writing garbled accounts of European affairs to Grassi and corrected one story with more recent news from Bordeaux, so presumably lost letters dealt with world affairs.²⁹¹ Fenwick anticipated that the British army would invade New York that year,²⁹² so again we can safely assume that he was not blind to the efforts made by Governor Tompkins to put the city in a state of defence to stand a siege.²⁹³ Two events did provoke long letters from Fenwick's pen. One was the formal restoration of the Society of Jesus by the Pope in 1814,²⁹⁴ and the other was the signing of the Treaty of Ghent that put an end to the War of 1812. "I received your favr. of the 12th . . . but it would be next to a mortal sin to expect that I should return an instantaneous answer when my ears are perpetually assailed with the roaring of cannon & the cries of Huzza resounding from every part ever since the joyful tidings of peace, & when we are all so busily employed in making preparations for the grand & interesting illumination which is to take place here after tomorrow & in which our own will not (to save our windows from the violence of the gay mob) be the least conspicuous; as our house presents a somewhat commanding front, I will have the honour of burning on that night upwards of 100 candles of the best manufactory."²⁹⁵

The return of peace brought profound changes to the New York parish. Napoleon's exile to Elba in 1814 prompted many of the French émigrés to return to their native land. The Baron Hyde de Neuville and his family were already in Europe, and General Moreau, whom Fenwick must also have known, had been killed at Leipzig fighting against the Corsican. Other prominent families followed them. M. Stephen Jumel, whose princely benefactions to

²⁹¹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, April 1, 1813.

²⁹² WA, Fenwick to George I. Fenwick, August 9, 1814.

²⁹³ *Dictionary of American Biography*, "Tompkins, Daniel D."

²⁹⁴ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, December 23, 1814.

²⁹⁵ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, February 20, 1815.

the Church were by no means ended, sailed from New York in one of his own ships in 1814.²⁹⁶ A few of the old French families remained, but by and large their influence had considerably diminished. In New York the trustees were still dominated by Fenwick's friends, Don Thomas Stoughton, a relative by marriage of the Baron Hyde de Neuville, and Andrew Morris; but the old leadership was already losing its grip. The terrible trustee troubles a few years later caused the final overthrow of the old alliance of French and native Maryland Catholicism, and its weakness could already be seen.

The reopening of communications with Europe made the arrival of a bishop for New York in the near future a likely possibility, and Fenwick hurried the construction of the cathedral to ready it for him. New York had been a diocese since 1808, but its first bishop, Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., had died before leaving Europe, and its second bishop, John Connolly, O.P., was still in Europe awaiting passage.²⁹⁷ In the spring of 1815 the cathedral edifice was nearly complete and Fenwick was engaged in selecting proper fittings for the church:

Some months before that church was consecrated, I waited on the Trustees and informed them that every thing would be wanting for the celebration of Divine Service in that church as soon as consecrated—that there would be required a chalice, a ciborium, an ostensorio, and vestments of the different colors, &c.—that it would be well to look to this matter in time, and not to wait until it would be too late. Mr. Andrew Morris enquired where these things could be procured. I stated that as Mr. Jumel, formerly one of the Trustees, was then in Paris, he would be the proper person to write to procure them in time—with the consent of the Trustees, and under their direction, a letter was accordingly written to Mr. Jumel requesting him to forward these articles to New York with the shortest delay possible. They arrived, if I recollect right, about a couple of weeks before the church was consecrated. I had them exhibited to the Trustees before being put into use, who seemed perfectly satisfied with them, and without a dissenting voice promised to take them for the Cathedral, and to satisfy the demands of Mr. Jumel when

²⁹⁶ Hyde de Neuville, *Memoires et Souvenirs*, I, 480.

²⁹⁷ James Roosevelt Bayley, *The Catholic Church on the Island of New York* (New York, 1870), p. 84.

called upon to do so. All these articles are now in St. Patrick's Cathedral (vestments probably excepted which have long since been worn out) and have been used in it ever since that day But what surprises me is that they have not yet been paid for! I was called away from New York shortly after the consecration of the Cathedral—the then Trustees also disappeared in succession—those who came after them knew nothing of the affair and were consequently unwilling to assume a debt about which they knew nothing—Jumel continued in France without pressing the matter—Thus have things been left up to the present date. It certainly is time that the matter should be attended to at least now after a thirty year delay. Madame Jumel is now a widow and it appears she stands greatly in need of the money.²⁹⁸

It was characteristic of Stephen Jumel that he died in poverty in New York on May 22, 1832, without ever attempting to collect this debt.²⁹⁹ His country house, where Fenwick may often have been his guest, is now a museum.

As the date for the consecration of the new cathedral drew closer, Fenwick, already overworked, came down with a touch of fever. At the same time he learned that Kohlmann's temporary visit to Georgetown had become a permanent assignment and that a German Jesuit, Father Maximilian Rantzaу, was to take his place as Fenwick's assistant:

To have removed Mr. Kohlmann one year or two years ago when there was but one Church in New York to be attended would have been an inconvenience if not a considerable injury to the Catholic body at large greatly to be lamented: but to withdraw him just at a time when instead of two at least 4 priests are requisite to perform the multifarious duties of this extensive & still growing mission will excite a ferment in the minds of the public incalculably great & fill them with a deep rooted hatred against the Society at large. An immense debt has been created in the building of St. Patrick's Church not less than fifty five thousand dollars which money has been borrowed from the banks of our City upon the credit of 40 members of our congregation, & which must be repaid before the expiration of six months from the opening of the Church which will take place on Easter Sunday.

²⁹⁸ New York Historical Society, New York, N.Y. Misc. MSS Jumel. Fenwick to John Hughes, April 22, 1846.

²⁹⁹ DAB, "Jumel, Eliza Bowen."

The Trustees of the Church have never doubted but that the sale of the pews in St. Patrick's on Easter monday would go far to liquidate said debt if the congregation had an assurance that divine service was or would be performed there in a manner satisfactory to them. But if on the contrary they find that Fr. Kohlmann is removed & another is sent in his place, a stranger, a foreigner & consequently laboring under a certain degree of difficulty in expressing correctly his ideas what will be the consequence?³⁰⁰

Fenwick also had doubts about Kohlmann's view of the importance of maintaining the Jesuit station in New York. He wrote to Kohlmann in April, citing Father Grassi's words, "F. Anth. Kohlmann believes the rumor of a Bishop being appointed for N.Y., and in his opinion should it prove true then ours ought to quit N.Y.," but was reassured by Kohlmann's repeated request that the Literary Institution be reopened.³⁰¹ No effort was ever made to do so, however.

For the time being, despite his initial doubts, Fenwick found enough to occupy him in readying the new cathedral for dedication. On May 4, 1815, "the elegant new Cathedral Church in Prince Street was consecrated by the Right Rev. Bishop Cheverus, attended by many of the clergy belonging to the Catholic Church. His Hon. the Mayor and Aldermen, and the Trustees of the Church, attended the procession. . . . It is supposed that the church contained between three and four thousand persons."³⁰² Besides Fenwick, Rantzau, and Malou, Cheverus noted that "we had with us F. Malevé and the Rev. Mr. Pasquiet. . . . We did our best to make this a truly impressive ceremony. The fathers desire that all the rites described in the Pontifical be carried out. This I shall go through with them tomorrow, *privatim et januis clausis*."³⁰³

The Bishop of Boston pointed out that, "It is impossible for the three Fathers here to serve the two churches. Mr. Fenwick cannot stand it long, except he gets more co-operators. Two more priests at least, one a preacher and also a pious French clergyman would be a necessity here. I hope the Bishop of the Diocese will

³⁰⁰ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, March 7, 1815.

³⁰¹ WA, Kohlmann to Grassi, April 24, 1815 quoting Fenwick.

³⁰² New York *Gazette*, May 5, 1815.

³⁰³ Cheverus to Carroll, May 9, 1815, *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, XXI (1910), 90.

duly appreciate the treasure he possesses in the Fathers of the Society. F. Fenwick in particular is the object of universal respect and love. His zeal, piety and talents need not my praise. His praise is in the hearts of all who know him."³⁰⁴ To Grassi he added, "Father Rantzau's health is but indifferent. Father Malou does not preach & F. Fenwick cannot possibly stand it long except he has more help. Indeed I almost wonder he is alive. Of him I shall not presume to say anything. . . . He is admired as a preacher, beloved & respected as a Pastor, *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*."³⁰⁵

While Cheverus was in New York word was received of the appointment of John Connolly, O.P., as bishop of New York. "Had I received the news last week I would not have consented to give Confirmation here, but this being announced, the Rev. Mr. Fenwick and his Rev. Brethren insist on my not disappointing them."³⁰⁶ On his return to Boston, Cheverus wrote "I hope the Bishop of New York will arrive soon. If he does not and some priest able to preach &c. is not sent to the relief of the excellent F. Fenwick, he will certainly sink under a burden heavy enough for two or three pairs of strong shoulders."³⁰⁷

Despite Fenwick's initial diffidence, he was able to report to Archbishop Carroll that "the unprecedented sale of the pews first disposed of encouraged the Trustees to put up nearly as many more; but the rage of bidding had cooled down; the poorer class were intimidated by the former sales & the Trustees stopped for the moment selling any more."³⁰⁸ Still, the crushing debt was paid.

In September Fenwick entertained another episcopal visitor. Bishop Joseph Plessis of Quebec, who was one day to be a strong supporter of Fenwick's candidacy for Charleston and later Boston, met Fenwick at Andrew Morris' town-house and was taken by him to the new cathedral. "The erection of St. Patrick's church has placed the Jesuits in the necessity of duplicating the divine

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ WA, Cheverus to Grassi, May 9, 1815.

³⁰⁶ Cheverus to Carroll, May 11, 1815, *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, XXI (1910), 89.

³⁰⁷ Cheverus to Carroll, May 22, 1815, *ibid.*, XXII (1911), 149-150.

³⁰⁸ WA, Carroll to Enoch Fenwick, June 1, 1815 quoting "Yr brother Ben."

service. They give every Sunday a high and a low Mass in that church and as many in that of St. Peter; and, as they are only three in number, it becomes necessary that each one binate in turn. Father Malou having left his country, Flanders, at an already advanced age, and Father Rantzau being a German, neither is bold enough to preach in English, so that the whole weight of preaching bears on Father Fenwick, an American."³⁰⁹

Finally on November 24, 1815, "after a tedious passage of 68 days" in the ship *Sally* from Dublin, the Rt. Rev. John Connolly, O.P.,³¹⁰ second bishop of New York took possession of his diocese. He at once appointed Fenwick as his vicar-general and, from his extant correspondence, seems to have relied heavily on him from the first.³¹¹ Fortunately for the New York Jesuits, a Dominican and a diocesan priest accompanied the bishop, and Fenwick's crushing burden was eased.³¹²

The arrival of the bishop brought certain changes in Fenwick's life. Malou reported in February that "They have rented a house near St. Patrick's for Mgr. [Connolly]" and that "Mgr. [Connolly], Father [Thomas] Carbry and Father Fenwick will live together at St. Patrick's; Father Rantzau and myself in another house near St. Peter's."³¹³ For Fenwick this must have been a welcome change. All of Malou's letters are filled with recriminations and detailed accounts of his incessant bickering with Rantzau, and this letter opens with the significant statement that "Father Fenwick does not wish to write you, he tells me, because he does not want to complain about anyone."³¹⁴ Later he writes, "I have attempted several times to make some remonstrances to P. Fenwick. I have been rebuffed rather coldly. Finally I decided I ought to give him my views in writing on many subjects that I

³⁰⁹ Joseph O. Plessis, Archbishop of Quebec, "Journal," September 10, 1815, *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, XV (1904), 397-398.

³¹⁰ *New York Evening Post*, November 25, 1815.

³¹¹ John Connolly to Leonard Neale, December 7, 1815, *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, IV (1893), 187.

³¹² WA, Malou to Grassi, February 23, 1816.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

can not commit to paper."³¹⁵ Both Malou and Rantzau were evidently anxious to be transferred to some other parish. Besides their own quarrels, Rantzau got on badly with Carbry.³¹⁶ If Malou's letters are any index, these years must have been painful ones for Fenwick.

They were, at any rate, years of a remarkably successful apostolate to Protestants. Fenwick had always been known for his ease of approach and the high esteem in which he was held by non-Catholics. Now he was to be the instrument for what Kohlmann called "not an ordinary miracle but one such as Providence produces but rarely in the course of centuries."³¹⁷ Malou wrote in June 1816 that "Several Episcopalian ministers have held conversations with Father Fenwick. Two have already been received privately into the Church and they tell us that 3 or 4 others will follow their example soon, while still others have been prepared by God's grace to take the same step."³¹⁸

One of these convert ministers was the Rev. John Kewley, M.D. On March 25, 1813, he had been instituted as the first rector of St. George's Church, until then a chapel of Trinity parish.³¹⁹ Kewley was an Englishman, educated at St. Omer's and Douay, before going on to study medicine at the University of Edinburgh, where he received his degree. In his youth, he was "a sincere professor of the Roman Catholic religion and continued so till a more free intercourse with the world led me into a state of apathy respecting religion." He experienced a conversion while practicing medicine in the West Indies and joined "Lady Huntington's persuasion." In 1803 he became lay reader at Emmanuel Church, Cumberland, Maryland, and at Bishop Claggett's request studied for and was ordained to the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church.³²⁰ He held various pastorates in Maryland and Connecticut and was suspected of Calvinistic leanings while rector at Middletown, Connecticut.³²¹ It is not known when he first

³¹⁵ WA, Malou to Grassi, June 3, 1816.

³¹⁶ WA, Malou to Grassi, February 23, 1816.

³¹⁷ ARSI, Kohlmann to Fidele Grivel, October 7, 1818.

³¹⁸ WA, Malou to Grassi, June 3, 1816.

³¹⁹ Henry Anstice, *History of St. George's Church in the City of New York* (New York, 1911), p. 61.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

³²¹ E. Edwards Beardsley, *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut* (New York, 1868), p. 104.

discussed Catholicism with Father Fenwick. Dr. Kewley was in England from October 1814 until November 1815.³²² On March 25, 1816, he resigned as rector of St. George's and was formally reconciled by Father Fenwick soon afterwards.³²³ Dr. Kewley did not remain long in this country after his conversion. Kohlmann wrote in 1818 that "Mr. Kewly [*sic*] is now at Rome to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical state."³²⁴ He was still at his studies in 1820,³²⁵ but eventually entered a religious order in Belgium³²⁶ and died in "obscurity in Brussels."³²⁷

The Rev. George E. Ironside was a professor of Latin and Greek and kept a private school as early as 1808, first at 54 Cedar Street, later on Milligan Lane in Greenwich Village.³²⁸ He had sometimes assisted Dr. Kewley at St. George's and apparently came with him to see Father Fenwick.³²⁹ His instruction was the beginning of a long friendship, not just with Fenwick but with the Society of Jesus, so much so that Grassi called him "a short-coated Jesuit," and the long conversations begun in the Jay Street rectory were continued in Georgetown each Saturday, to the superior's annoyance.³³⁰ As Assistant Secretary of State some years later, Ironside succeeded in bringing the influence of the State Department to bear on the controversy over White Marsh and the archbishop's pension that raged between Maréchal and the Jesuits of Maryland.³³¹ The Rev. Mr. Ironside was a native of Aberdeenshire, Scotland, and had been a chaplain and instructor in the British navy before coming to this country.³³² He published *Elementa Linguae Graecae* at New York in 1813, an edition of the *Iliad* the following year, and an *Epitome Historiae*

³²² Anstice, *St. George's*, p. 68.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³²⁴ ARSI, Kohlmann to Fidele Grivel, October 7, 1818.

³²⁵ ARSI, George Ironside to Grassi, June 3, 1820.

³²⁶ James Roosevelt Bayley, *The Catholic Church in the Island of Manhattan* (New York, 1870), p. 86n.

³²⁷ Gibson, *Some Converts*, p. 205n., quoting *The Banner of the Cross*, January 30, 1847.

³²⁸ *New York Directory*, 1808-1817.

³²⁹ ARSI, Kohlmann to Grivel, October 7, 1818.

³³⁰ ARSI, George Ironside to Grassi, June 3, 1820. Kohlmann to Aloysius Fortis, May 2, 1821.

³³¹ Hughes, *Documents*, pp. 554 and 1078-1079.

³³² Joseph M. Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (New York, 1872), pp. 178-179.

Sacrae ad usum Tyronum Linguae Latinae in 1817.³³³ These texts were later introduced into Georgetown, probably by Fenwick during his presidency.³³⁴

Ironside lost his wife, Helen, in June 1815³³⁵ and almost immediately married again, choosing as his second wife, Mary MacKay, also a native of Scotland. He, his second wife, and a daughter by his first marriage were received into the Church in the spring of 1816. His eldest son remained an Episcopalian for some years.³³⁶ A daughter, Margaret Ann, was baptized at St. Peter's in October 1816³³⁷ and a son, George Benedict, in February 1817.³³⁸ In June 1817 Mr. Ironside closed his school in New York and moved with his family to Washington, where he opened a school with the help of Fenwick and Father William Matthews.³³⁹ In 1820 he obtained a post in the State Department.³⁴⁰

A second family of recent converts followed Fenwick to Georgetown when he was recalled in 1817. They were the Rev. and Mrs. Virgil H. Barber and their five children. Fenwick left a lengthy account of his conversations with the Barbers. He first met Virgil Barber, then the principal of an academy near Utica, New York, in 1816:

It was in one of his visits to New York he took occasion to call upon the Rev. Administrator Fenwick and to enter into conversation with him upon the subject of Religion. He was open and candid in his remarks, and seemed to manifest a sincere desire to know the truth. The Rev. Administrator was equally free on his side, and took some pains to satisfy him in his inquiries, and to explain to him the real doctrines of the Catholic Church, satisfied that if he could but remove the prejudices of his education, he should find but little difficulty to convince him of the truth of the Catholic religion.³⁴¹

When Barber left, Fenwick "put into his hands several books"

³³³ Parsons, *Early Catholic Americana*, pp. 111, 117, 151.

³³⁴ Finotti, *Bibliographia*, p. 179.

³³⁵ New York *Evening Post*, June 14, 1815.

³³⁶ ARSI, Ironside to Grassi, June 3, 1820.

³³⁷ Archives of St. Peter's Parish, New York, N.Y. "Baptismal Register, A," p. 403.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

³³⁹ ARSI, Ironside to Grassi, June 3, 1820.

³⁴⁰ WA, Ironside to George Fenwick, May 11, 1824.

³⁴¹ AAB, Fenwick, "Memoranda."

and urged him to pray over the question. Some months later Barber returned to New York and called at once at the rectory:

The Administrator recognized him as soon as he entered the room, greeted him in the most cordial manner, and enquired affectionately into the state of his health and that of his family. After a few moments desultory conversation, the former subject was renewed and much ground in religious controversy was travelled over in the course of a few hours. Mr. Barber in the course of the conversation admitted that the Protestant faith could not be defended, and seemed greatly at a loss what to do. The situation of his family seemed to rush upon his mind, and the awkward predicament in which they would be placed. "Trust," said the Administrator, guessing at what passed within him, "trust your affairs to the management of a beneficent Providence. Embrace the truth, now that you have found it, and leave the rest to God. He has led you on to make this enquiry, He has followed you step by step; and now that you yield to His grace He will abandon you? No, believe me, you were never more secure of subsistence."

"What shall I then do?" he replied. "First embrace the Catholic religion," said the Administrator, "then go back to your Academy, resign your situation in the Episcopal Church, settle your affairs as soon as you conveniently can, and come to New York. I shall in the mean time use my best endeavours to procure you scholars; so that as soon as you arrive you may open a new school, which shortly I hope to see as flourishing as the one you forsake." "Well, I submit," was the generous reply returned. "I am ready to give in my recantation whenever you may deem fit, and to do whatever else you shall prescribe." A few days after, he made his recantation, read the profession of Catholic faith, was baptized (sub conditione), made his confession, and was regularly received by the Administrator into the communion of the Catholic Church.³⁴²

Fenwick was soon able to recruit many of his old pupils at the Literary Institution and had a house on Vesey Street selected for the Barbers when the former minister and his family arrived in New York in the winter of 1816. George Ironside was there to help and stood as godfather for the youngest of the Barber children at her baptism on Christmas Eve.³⁴³ Fenwick received the

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ Archives of St. Peter's Parish, New York, N.Y. "Baptismal Register, A," p. 406.

family with "open arms, causes them to remain in his own house until he had seen all things in order" and counted "that as one of the happiest days in his life, in which he had received and entertained these martyrs of the faith." It was not long before Mrs. Barber began to ask about "the separation of man and wife for the purpose of enabling the former to enter into orders." Fenwick was "perfectly astonished" and made every effort to dissuade her "from thinking of the matter," as their children, one only a few months old, "would necessarily suffer." Such was the state of affairs in the Barber household when Fenwick returned to Georgetown in 1817.³⁴⁴

At about the same time, a fourth clergyman, the Rev. Calvin White of Derby, Connecticut, whom his bishop in the Episcopal Church described as "a humble country clergyman, whose quaintness, learning and goodness cast a sunbeam on poverty itself,"³⁴⁵ also visited New York to begin his journey to the Catholic Church.³⁴⁶ He had been deeply impressed by his reading of *The Catholic Question in America* and sought a conversation with the author of its doctrinal appendix. The Rev. Mr. White remained in the Episcopal communion for some years, but later as a Catholic layman did much to help Bishop Fenwick establish the Church in Connecticut.³⁴⁷

While these remarkable conversions were taking place, Fenwick had the pastoral care of the cathedral as well as the duties of vicar-general of the diocese, in Bishop Connolly's phrase, "too much to attend to, notwithstanding his youth, talents and good will."³⁴⁸ In 1817 he apparently was transferred to St. Peter's Church, for the City Directory lists his residence as Vesey Street, a block away from St. Peter's, but rather inconvenient for St. Patrick's.³⁴⁹

The Jesuit superiors were now clamoring for his recall from New York. On July 1, 1816, Bishop Connolly wrote to Grassi asking him to let Fenwick remain. He stressed his need for him and his great popularity with the people who would be angered

³⁴⁴ AAB, Fenwick, "Memoranda."

³⁴⁵ Beardsley, *Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, pp. 104-105.

³⁴⁶ ARSI, Kohlmann to Grivel, October 7, 1818.

³⁴⁷ Lord, *Archdiocese of Boston*, I, 752-755.

³⁴⁸ Connolly to Plessis, June 7, 1816, *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, IV (1893), 189.

³⁴⁹ *New York Directory*, 1817.

by his transfer. The bishop would even appeal the cause to the Jesuit General and the Holy Father himself.³⁵⁰ A similar letter was actually sent to Rome.³⁵¹ Later he wrote another plea in similar terms to Grassi.³⁵²

The General, however, sent explicit orders to the Maryland superior, probably writing before Connolly's letters were received in Rome. "Recall Father Benedict Fenwick therefore, as you believe is necessary, and explain to the Bishop of New York that it is for the good of his own diocese that he can be supplied with a succession of worthy priests and that it is just therefore that he bear the present inconvenience to obtain that end."³⁵³ It had been decided to make Fenwick president of Georgetown College and rector of the attached scholasticate, where future Jesuit priests were being trained. Bishop Connolly was not the only one who believed it was a serious error to recall Fenwick from New York. The Sulpician Father Simon Bruté de Remur told Grassi the Jesuits "far from calling Mr. Fenwick would have done better to send him Murphy" and not attempt to "form only a concentrated hot bed in Whitemarsh or your College."³⁵⁴

While his bishop attempted to forestall his return to Maryland, Fenwick continued his apostolic work. He was busy with plans for his magazine and seems to have been responsible for editing the *Catholic Directory* printed by Matthew Field in the latter part of 1816. He is known to have edited the 1822 directory, even though it appeared as "revised and corrected by the Rev. John Power," and, besides announcing his magazine, its contents are very similar to the 1822 issue.³⁵⁵

Bishop Connolly evidently expected Fenwick to leave New York in January 1817, as he intended to send a letter to Bishop Neale "by Mr. Ben Fenwick who is preparing to go to Georgetown."³⁵⁶ He did not actually depart until "after the Easter holi-

³⁵⁰ WA, Connolly to Grassi, July 1, 1816.

³⁵¹ WA, Connolly to Colmo, July 1, 1816.

³⁵² ARSI, Connolly to Grassi, August 23, 1816.

³⁵³ WA, Brzozowski to Grassi, September 10, 1816.

³⁵⁴ WA, Simon Bruté de Remur to Grassi, February 6, 1817.

³⁵⁵ Lord, *Archdiocese of Boston*, I, 21.

³⁵⁶ Connolly to Leonard Neale, January 22, 1817, *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, IV (1893), 191.

days,"³⁵⁷ apparently in May 1817.³⁵⁸ The New York apostolate was over.

In these years Fenwick had not only gained valuable experience in the administration of a large diocese and a deeper appreciation of pastoral and educational needs; he had learned the temper of urban Catholicism; and it was in the cities that the future of the Church in this country was to be found. His appreciation of the importance of maintaining a Jesuit school and well-staffed parishes in the urban center of immigration, even at the cost of sacrifices in his native Maryland, of which he was so proud, indicates the profound growth of these years.³⁵⁹ Besides his own expanding views, the New York years brought him to the attention of the American bishops and the authorities in Rome as one of the most capable American priests. As early as 1814 he was mentioned as a possible successor to Bishop Egan of Philadelphia.³⁶⁰ Again, it was chiefly the knowledge of his able administration in New York that prompted Bishop Cheverus of Boston to urge Fenwick as the first Bishop of Charleston in 1818, before his successful efforts to end the schism there had even begun.³⁶¹ The New York apostolate more than any other factor changed the Maryland Jesuit into the Bishop of Boston.

³⁵⁷ AAB, Fenwick, "Memoirs."

³⁵⁸ ARSI, Grassi, "Memorie," p. 72. Fenwick's name appears on the baptismal register of St. Peter's parish for the last time on April 7, 1817.

³⁵⁹ WA, Fenwick to Grassi, March 7, 1815.

³⁶⁰ Guilday, "Trusteeism," p. 15.

³⁶¹ Lord, *Archdiocese of Boston*, I, 787.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

1880-1900

By JOHN BILSKI*

No one would deny the significance religion has had on civilization or its importance in American history. Officially the United States has adopted the doctrine of separation of Church and State, but since American policy decisions are so tied to public sentiment,¹ religion undoubtedly assists in the formation of public opinions when questions of morality and justice are discussed. As a result of the belief that all religious bodies should be allowed to exist without favoritism, the free American environment has permitted numerous organized religious bodies to develop unhampered by government restrictions. Among the many organized churches in the United States, the Catholic Church took advantage of this free environment, and by the time the question of American imperialism was being discussed the Catholic population was substantial, representing the most numerous single religious group in the country.²

What constitutes the Catholic Church in the United States and how can its attitude be determined? Although the Roman Catholic Church is an international organization, the present study is concerned only with the Catholic Church in the United States,

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¹ For an analysis of the impact of public opinion on major policy decisions in American history see Thomas A. Bailey, *The Man in the Street* (New York, 1948), and Walter Lippmann, *The Public Philosophy* (Boston, 1955).

² Although all the Protestant religious bodies taken together outnumbered the Catholic population heavily, the Catholics estimated their flock in 1880 at 6,259,000, which included 6,000 priests and one American cardinal. Theodore Roemer, *The Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1950), p. 267. By 1890 Catholic population increased to 8,909,000. *Ibid.*, p. 311. In 1900 Catholic population was estimated at 12,041,000 and the number of priests within the church in the United States were 11,987. Another Catholic authority gives similar figures and indicates that the estimates were based on baptized persons. John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago, 1956), p. 123. Of the Protestant denominations statistics in 1895 showed Methodist membership at 5,452,654, the largest of Protestant groups, with the Baptists the nearest competitor with 4,068,539 members. *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, July 8, 1896, p. 4, in Kenneth M. MacKenzie, *The Methodist Church and American Imperialism 1865-1900* (Unpublished MS, New York University), p. 3.

and when the term Church is used it applies only to the Church in the United States. The papal representative in the United States is the Apostolic Delegate who has a permanent residence in Washington, D.C.³ Archbishops and bishops constitute the American hierarchy. Below them are various religious orders in addition to the numerous priests who come directly under the jurisdiction of the hierarchy. Official policy of the Church, however, can be made only by the pope, and consequently public statements of individual members of the Church in the United States usually represent their personal views as citizens of the United States. Nevertheless, because of their position and prestige within the Church, the clergy's views are given a proportionately greater degree of importance and significance than those of the laity.

Two means of determining the Church's attitude have been adopted here: a careful study of interviews, statements, sermons, and articles by Church officials appearing in magazines and newspapers, of collections of memoirs and letters, and of biographies of individual churchmen, as well as an examination of a cross section of the Catholic press. The Catholic journals were the most appropriate medium for expressing official Church opinion on secular questions, and the editorial policy usually had the approval of individual members of the hierarchy and the clergy.

The establishment of the American hierarchy in the United States coincided significantly with the commencement of the Federal Union in 1789. Prior to the elevation of John Carroll, the first American Catholic bishop, jurisdiction in the colonies was exercised by a vicar apostolic in England. The decree which organized the American Catholic Church as a distinct body came soon after the American Revolution, and it appointed Carroll superior of the Catholic clergy in America. From its very foundation the Catholic hierarchy was compelled to direct the affairs and interest of the Church in an environment which was

³ Thomas F. Meehan, "The Organization of the Catholic Church in the United States," *North American Review*, CLXXXVIII (October 1908), 690. The first permanent Apostolic Delegate was established in 1893. See John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore 1834-1921* (2 vols., Milwaukee, 1952), I, 595-692.

both novel and unique. A new civilization was in the process of development for which even the historic Catholic organization was without precedents. The judgment and the decisions arrived at by Church officials would not only affect the progress of the Church but have a significance in the development of American history. By participating actively in public affairs the officials of the Church contributed to the resolution of public issues.

As the Catholic population increased in the next hundred years, the Catholic organization comprised both outspoken members and others who preferred to remain silent.⁴ Members of the American hierarchy such as James Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore, were quite energetic in their contribution to American public life.⁵ Cardinal Gibbons believed that his rights as an American citizen were not abdicated when he decided to become a Christian prelate. When events demanded, he made no excuses for offering reflections on the political state of the nation.⁶ On the other hand the passive element within the American hierarchy could be typified in the person of the Most Reverend John Joseph Williams, archbishop of Boston.⁷ The official historians of the Archdiocese of Boston believed that the archbishop was affected by an economy of speech: "Outside the pulpit, his public addresses throughout forty years could almost be counted on one's fingers."⁸

Within the Church this silence did not pass without notice. "My experience," wrote Bishop McFaul of Trenton,⁹ "leads me to the conclusion that a policy of silence has been very detrimental

⁴ P. J. Mahon and J. M. Hayes, *Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America* (Chicago, n.d.), p. 981. The authors suggest that a more active interest in public affairs was displayed by members of the Catholic clergy after the meeting of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884.

⁵ Cardinal Gibbons knew personally "more American presidents than any churchman of his time." Ellis, *Gibbons*, I, 13.

⁶ James Cardinal Gibbons, "Patriotism and Politics," *North American Review*, CLIV (April 1892), 385.

⁷ Archbishop Williams was the first archbishop to direct the newly created metropolitan see of Boston in 1875. He died August 30, 1907. See Joseph B. Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* (New York, 1940), p. 361.

⁸ Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1944), III, 427.

⁹ James Augustine McFaul was bishop of Trenton, New Jersey, from 1894 to 1917. Code, *Dictionary*, p. 223.

to our interests.”¹⁰ Bishop McFaul believed that Catholic influence could be increased if members of the hierarchy were more active and if the administrative coordination were improved. His campaigning eventually contributed to the formation of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, which held its first national convention at Cincinnati, December 1901.¹¹ However, the real streamlining of the Catholic administrative structure came some years later with the formation of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in 1919 with headquarters in Washington, D.C.¹² Nevertheless, the Catholic hierarchy did produce many members who indicated their views.

The question of the role of the priest and clergyman in American life also received the attention of some of the religious orders active in America. In an address at St. Ignatius College, A. A. Lambers, S.J. elaborated on the duties incumbent upon the priest as an American citizen and outlined what the proper disposition of the clergy should be toward issues in American political life. In times of peace the clergy were bound to offer instruction on questions of morality and justice and “assist in the vigorous maintenance and defense of principle.” During periods of national strife or open hostility with an enemy of the republic, their duty as well as that of all citizens was “to serve with their brethren.” Members of the clergy should vote by all means, but soliciting or canvassing votes was beneath the dignity of an official of the Church. “The priest must warn the people against usurpation and intrigue against liberty, must explain what is at stake in each election, and leave the casting of votes to the citizen’s conscience.”¹³

Soon the Catholic press found it necessary to defend the increasing activity which the Catholic Church was taking in the public affairs of the nation. Responding to Protestant criticism, *The Catholic Review*¹⁴ declared: “It is all right for them to

¹⁰ James J. Power, ed., *The Pastoral Letters, Addresses, and Other Writings of the Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, D.D., L.L.D., Bishop of Trenton* (Trenton, 1915), p. 147.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹² John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago, 1956), pp. 138-143.

¹³ A. A. Lambert, “The Priest in Politics,” *Catholic Review*, LII (April 17, 1898). 233.

¹⁴ On its masthead, *The Catholic Review* informs the reader that it is a

meddle in politics, but all wrong for other folks." Furthermore it questioned the genuineness of their "bogus patriotic societies" which were organized to prevent "ecclesiastical encroachment on American institutions." If any religious group were encroaching upon American institutions the journal suggested that the "Protestant clergymen are indeed conspicuous."¹⁵

Having unofficially determined to increase its participation in public affairs, the Church in the United States had its patriotism questioned, and during the later part of the 19th century, the Church was probably more eager than any other religious organization to indicate its loyalty to the American republic and to demonstrate a substantial amount of patriotic fervor. This was no doubt heightened by the formation of the American Protective Association, whose chief motivation and purpose were to prevent the Catholic Church from attaining a greater influence in the affairs of the Republic.¹⁶ Numerous Catholic journals were inaugurated to combat the attack. But when the Association failed to cast a decisive influence in the election of 1896, its authority and prestige gradually disintegrated. The chief target of the A.P.A. was the Republican Party, but because the regular party officials had a staunch supporter in John Ireland,¹⁷ archbishop of St. Paul, the Republican Party refused to adopt or sanction the policies advocated by the A.P.A.

As a rule, members of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy assumed an attitude of scornful silence to the Protestant charges of a fundamental incompatibility between American institutions of freedom and Catholic direction from a foreign power.¹⁸ But as the animosity increased some members of the hierarchy were compelled to reply. In a circular letter to the clergy and laity of the Archdiocese of New York, Archbishop Michael Augustine Cor-

weekly journal for Catholic families, commended by His Holiness Leo XIII, The Archbishop of New York, The Bishop of Brooklyn, and many other prelates.

¹⁵ *Catholic Review*, April 5, 1896, p. 232.

¹⁶ For a description of the activity of the American Protective Association, its origin, progress, and decline, see Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York, 1943), pp. 219-247.

¹⁷ Bishop, later Archbishop, of St. Paul, Minnesota, 1884-1918. See James H. Moynihan, *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland* (New York, 1953).

¹⁸ Myers, *Bigotry*, p. 240.

rigan¹⁹ proceeded to answer the Protestant allegations. The archbishop pointed out that the hierarchy had been established for over one hundred years and not a single syllable had ever come from the pope to direct the course of American balloting. He asserted that not one sentence coming from Rome had any bearing on American politics. "The danger," the archbishop informed his flock, "can never come to America while they are faithful to religion."²⁰ Earlier, taking the occasion of celebrating the golden jubilee of Bishop Loughlin of Brooklyn, Archbishop Corrigan delivered a patriotic address to an assembly of distinguished Church officials.²¹ The Archbishop of Oregon City likewise felt the necessity of replying to the same Protestant attacks. Taking the example of Spain, to which critics often referred, Archbishop Gross²² attempted to discount the amount of Church influence in a country whose population had more than a Catholic majority. In a pastoral letter addressed to the members of the clergy and laity within his archdiocese, he indicated the constant attempt of the Church to abolish the "barbarous bull fights" which were a characteristic of Spanish culture and which "always ended in failure." The Church, he added, officially condemned such practice whereas the officials of the Spanish government "encouraged the maintenance and continuance of this activity."²³ In addition to the Archbishops of New York and Oregon City, Archbishop Riordan²⁴ of San Francisco expressed his views as a church official and American citizen. "If any man," the archbishop informed a reporter, "came to me and asked me to vote for him because he was a Catholic, I would feel it my duty to go to the polls and vote for his opponent."²⁵

Having rejected the allegation of being un-American, the Church strove to assert its loyalty and patriotism. When occasion

¹⁹ Archbishop of New York, 1885-1902. Code, *Dictionary*, p. 60.

²⁰ The New York *Catholic News*, Oct. 17, 1897.

²¹ Michael Augustine Corrigan, "The Catholic Church in the United States," in Mitchell, ed., *The Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Rt. Rev. John Loughlin, D.D., First Bishop of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1890), p. 160.

²² Archbishop of Oregon City (since 1928 the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon), 1885-98. Code, *Dictionary*, p. 142.

²³ *Catholic News*, June 1, 1898.

²⁴ Patrick William Riordan, archbishop of San Francisco, 1885-1914. Code, *Dictionary*, p. 301.

²⁵ *Catholic Review*, Oct. 20, 1895, p. 264.

presented itself, members of the Catholic clergy took the opportunity to extol America's virtues and identified themselves as patriots of substance. In a Memorial Day service in 1896, the rector of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C.,²⁶ extolled the Republic and reminded Catholics of their duty to "the flag." His audience was asked to emulate the deeds of their brethren who had fallen in a great civil conflict and to take pride in the possession of American citizenship: "The many nationalities which make up the union have proved their loyalty to the republic and loyalty is the essential duty citizens must offer the flag."²⁷

A similar spirit was characteristic in instructing children in the parochial schools and the remarks of the Reverend P. C. Yorke in San Francisco were duplicated frequently. Father Yorke proceeded like Monsignor Conaty to instruct the children on the significance of "the flag." Principles were of little benefit if they were not lived up to; talk was insufficient; and "speeches do not make good citizens. . . . The action of citizens is what tells." He then extracted significance from the color scheme of the flag's design and attributed noble virtues to each of the three colors. Red signified love of country which required the shedding of blood if necessary; white was a warning to all citizens to be true to their country forever; and the blue was inserted to remind citizens to look higher, to elevate themselves, and "to aspire to the true home in heaven."²⁸

As well as offering patriotic counsel on university and lower academic levels, the religious orders used the patriotic theme when occasion warranted. The Reverend F. J. Gasson undoubtedly spoke for many of his Jesuit colleagues on the subject of patriotism. In a sermon delivered at the church of the Immaculate Conception in Boston he stressed patriotism as an essential duty whose principles rested on "law and obedience." Loyalty was not only a civic duty but a religious one since God found it necessary "to create civil constituted authority." Disloyalty violated prin-

²⁶ Thomas J. Conaty, rector of Catholic University, 1896-1903, and bishop of Monterey-Los Angeles, 1903-15. Code, *Dictionary*, p. 52.

²⁷ Thomas J. Conaty, "The Flag," the *Boston Pilot*, May 30, 1896, p. 5.

²⁸ P. C. Yorke, "The Lessons of the Flag," *Catholic Review*, XLIV (Feb. 1, 1896), 76.

ciples of religious instruction and legitimately should receive the punishment accorded by civil law.²⁹

As the 19th century was entering upon its last decades, the Catholic Church in America was increasingly conscious of its growing numerical strength. Numbers of the clergy and officials within the hierarchy became increasingly more active in public affairs and discussed public issues with greater frequency. They found their loyalty challenged and they proceeded to meet the attacks in an intelligent tactical defense. And when the war with Spain, a sort of test of fealty and loyalty, ended, Archbishop Feehan of Chicago³⁰ believed that he could declare with a comfortable confidence that the "time has passed for Catholics to have to proclaim their patriotism as if it were open to suspicion." Addressing the seventh regiment of Illinois volunteers, he further stated that "an end has come to this apologizing which has gone on for the past one hundred years."³¹

The American sense of greatness which eventually developed into imperialism, according to one distinguished historian, was largely intellectual and emotional up to the year 1898.³² This intellectual and emotional expression essentially demanded adequate recognition of American civilization. Soon the feeling for a "New Manifest Destiny"³³ found considerable attention being given to the unique and heroic qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race, whose mission was to bring a higher civilization to all areas of the globe. Sensing the growing national consciousness, the Catholic press regretted the exclusion of many non-Anglo-Saxon peoples from identification with American society and culture and soon began to take issue with Anglo-Saxonism. "The people of this

²⁹ Boston, *Herald*, June 20, 1898.

³⁰ Patrick Augustine Feehan, archbishop of Chicago, 1880-1902. *Code, Dictionary*, p. 103.

³¹ *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*, Dec. 1898, p. 1141.

³² Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1955), p. 372.

³³ Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 1-34. The author examines the philosophical and intellectual arguments offered to justify the extension of American authority.

land," asserted the *Catholic Review*, "are not Anglo-Saxons." Finding the supporters of Anglo-Saxonism un-American, the editor indicated that if these discussions of superiority continued, a large element in the nation would display their anger and the "fake may be dangerous to the country."³⁴

Another Catholic journal also questioned the patriotism of the advocates of Anglo-Saxon superiority. The New York *Catholic News* found it odd that the very people who objected to Irish-Americans and German-Americans saw no reason to complain "about Anglo-Americans." By extolling Anglo-Saxon virtues, the editor pointed out, greater admiration was being extended to England than to their own country, and "it was obvious that this class of people would never make true Americans."³⁵ And in a previous issue it had protested that "Americans are the best of many races and not of one alone."³⁶

Reference to Anglo-Saxon valor was quite frequent when American military exploits were recorded. Typical was an article which appeared in *Collier's Weekly* and related the battle between the Mataafans and the American and English sailors in Samoa. When the author referred to the outcome as an Anglo-Saxon victory, the *Catholic News* agreed that "our regulars are deserving of praise, but that there is very little Anglo-Saxon blood among them. . . . A glance through the record would show and convince any intelligent man that the Anglo-Saxon race is an insignificant part of our splendid army."³⁷ Referring to another military conflict, the Boston *Pilot*³⁸ was also quite eager to refute Anglo-Saxon claims to superior valor. When the war with Spain broke out, the editor found that the first shot was fired by Patrick Mullin, a gunner on the *Nashville*, when it successfully captured the Spanish vessel *Buena Ventura*. The *Pilot*, with characteristic sarcasm, then declared that Patrick Mullin as "his name indicates

³⁴ June 4, 1898, p. 781.

³⁵ June 24, 1899.

³⁶ July 9, 1898.

³⁷ April 29, 1899.

³⁸ *The Pilot* is one of the oldest and most durable of Catholic weeklies. Beginning publication in the earlier part of the 19th century it was edited off and on by members of the clergy. During this period, however, it was edited by a Catholic layman, Patrick Donohue, but can be considered the organ of Catholic opinion in the Archdiocese of Boston. Early in the 20th century it became the official property of the Archdiocese of Boston.

is an Anglo-Saxon.”³⁹ References to Anglo-Saxon bravery became even more frequent as the war with Spain continued. The *Catholic News* examined the background of the seven heroes who assisted Lieutenant Hobson in his grand exploit at Santiago and concluded that of the seven, four were Irish, one French Canadian, and one a Dane. “If some are not born here,” the editor asserted, “it doesn’t make them love the stars and stripes any less and their action is just plain honest American heroism.”⁴⁰ The editor of the New York *Freeman’s Journal and Catholic Register* appeared to concur with this estimate when he commented that the great bulk of the army and navy in the recent war were Irish-Americans and that “Anglo-Saxon valor was ridiculous.”⁴¹

In one instance the *Pilot* was quite sharp. After observing that there were rumors spreading that a world’s Anglo-Saxon congress was in preparation, the editor had sarcastic and biting counsel. The congress was to assemble in Philadelphia late in June 1898 and remain in session to celebrate the Republic’s independence on July 4. Hoping that the proposed assembly had not as yet designated its organization specifically, this Catholic paper suggested that they “might call themselves the Anglo-Saxon Society.” The editor added, however, that the initials of the society “would be sufficient for proper identification.”⁴²

Although adamant in its rejection of Anglo-Saxon superiority, the Catholic press nevertheless frequently extended its admiration to Americans who advocated “Manifest Destiny.” Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, a strong advocate of sea power and high on the list of individual imperialists,⁴³ frequently was accorded praise by the Catholic press. After acknowledging that the subject of increasing national strength was on everybody’s lips, the *Pilot* recommended that “Mahan’s book should be read by every normal American.” The editor also added that “Americans are practical. They know that freedom was won by the sword and must be preserved by the sword at least until human nature changes.”

³⁹ April 30, 1898.

⁴⁰ June 18, 1898.

⁴¹ Dec. 17, 1898.

⁴² Jan. 15, 1898.

⁴³ Pratt, *History*, pp. 11-17, explores Mahan’s arguments in detail.

And when another paper, the *Nation*, opposed Mahan's proposal for increasing American naval strength, the *Pilot* charged that the *Nation* "would like to see our navy dismantled, our army disbanded, our fortification razed, the republic a European dependency, and the nation a warren of rabbits."⁴⁴ Even the usually reticent *Catholic News* classified Captain Mahan in the category of "great men" and was pleased to report that Mahan professed a religion and pointed this fact out to critics and doubters "who say great men have no religion."⁴⁵

In addition to Captain Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt won the admiration of the Catholic press. Roosevelt, like Mahan, was an advocate of a larger navy and belonged to the group who wanted the Republic to fulfill its destiny.⁴⁶ When Roosevelt's appointment to the Navy Department was announced, the *Catholic Review* felt that "the government gains a valuable official, and New York loses the best Police Commissioner it has ever known."⁴⁷ The *Pilot* expressed similar high regard for the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. As rumors were being later circulated that Roosevelt might possibly resign his navy post and assume a commission in the army to assist in prosecuting the war with Spain, the *Pilot* believed this change would be a great mistake: "Theodore Roosevelt in the navy is worth a thousand Theodore Roosevelts in the army."⁴⁸ Likewise, John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, had offered his view much earlier. "Theodore Roosevelt," the archbishop was reported to have said, "is a thorough American and one who loves a fight for right."⁴⁹

The Catholic press recognized America's growing capability. It admired and extolled the vigorous American national figures and sensed the growing importance and significance accorded the American Republic. Its editors rejected, however, the Anglo-Saxon myth and demanded a greater recognition for the Catholic population. The Church proceeded to identify itself more aggressively with American civilization.

⁴⁴ *Pilot*, Jan. 29, 1898.

⁴⁵ *Catholic News*, June 18, 1898.

⁴⁶ Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1931), pp. 165-199.

⁴⁷ *Catholic Review*, April 17, 1897, p. 216.

⁴⁸ April 23, 1898.

⁴⁹ *Pilot*, May 4, 1895.

In the year 1895 a disagreement involving Great Britain and Venezuela gave the Catholic press an opportunity to exert a vigorous nationalism. The dispute involved the proper boundaries of Venezuela and the colony of British Guiana. The controversy was complicated by the discovery of gold in the disputed area, and it appeared that the British might resort to force to compel Venezuela to recognize their territorial claims. A disposition on the part of the British government to resort to force to settle the question was felt in many quarters in the United States to be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. However, in order to insure a greater United States enthusiasm for the Venezuelan position, the government of Venezuela hired a professional propagandist, William L. Scruggs, a former United States Minister to Venezuela.⁵⁰ Scruggs cleverly prepared a pamphlet entitled *British Aggression in Venezuela or the Monroe Doctrine on Trial* and proceeded to distribute it in the proper places. Editors quickly seized upon its contents, and by the autumn of 1894 it had run through four editions and excited the American public. Protests continued to mount on the aggressiveness of the British government in South America, and Scruggs contacted his congressman who promptly introduced a resolution in Congress condemning the British action.⁵¹

Apparently the mounting anti-British feeling of the American public had its effect on the Cleveland administration. The War Department dispatched a portion of the American fleet to Venezuelan waters. A Catholic newspaper quickly took note of the American fleet off the coast of Venezuela, and the editor asserted that it no doubt had temporarily suspended "British aggression." And if the British did not recognize the strength and capability of the American navy, "here is the chance of a lifetime for another John Paul Jones."⁵² The *New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* felt that English aggressive activity in South America might lead to serious complication "if not war with the United States." The Venezuela outrage was just plain land "robbery." And if war should come it would be the finish, since

⁵⁰ Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1940), p. 481.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Pilot*, April 27, 1895.

we have had two wars with England already. "The next should be the last."⁵³

Evaluating the strong jingo attitude of the nation, the Department of State responded to this sentiment. On July 20, 1895, Secretary of State Richard Olney sent a note to the British Foreign Office in which he stated the position and attitude the government of the United States was taking toward the dispute in South America. The current action of the British government, the American secretary declared, was considered a violation of the Monroe Doctrine and the United States looked upon British or any European interference in the Western Hemisphere as an unfriendly act. In the language of conventional diplomacy, the Secretary's communication was considered vigorously firm and even "belligerent."⁵⁴

Satisfaction with the administration's position was quickly recorded in the Catholic press. The *Pilot* was extremely pleased with the vigorous position assumed in the Secretary's communication. And a short time later, impatiently waiting for a British reply, the editor felt that possibly England, Mexico, and Spain might be forming an offensive to support Spain in Cuba. If this information were true, the editor indicated that "the task of licking all three is a pleasure which Uncle Sam can't help but enjoy in this imperfect world."⁵⁵ A New York Catholic journal was likewise impatient. Reviewing the principles which motivated the Monroe Doctrine and taking note of the events taking place between Venezuela and British Guiana, the editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* believed this was just another incident where the British "are pressing a policy of domination over a weak power." The time has come for the United States to affirm the Monroe Doctrine and to "challenge Great Britain in Venezuela."⁵⁶

Reflecting the mood of public opinion, President Cleveland likewise displayed impatience with the British failure to react more positively to American overtures.⁵⁷ On December 17, 1895,

⁵³ March 30, 1895.

⁵⁴ Bailey, *Diplomatic History*, p. 482.

⁵⁵ Oct. 12, 1895.

⁵⁶ Oct. 26, 1895.

⁵⁷ Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1948), p. 633.

the President delivered a message to Congress which essentially recommended that the United States determine the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana; and if it were necessary, the United States should maintain the boundary with force. The President was applauded in the House, Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the expenses of the boundary Commission, and a wave of jingoism swept the entire country.⁵⁸ When the *Nation* described the President's message as jingoism, the *Catholic Review* rejected the charge as "unwarranted." And soon after the President's message was delivered, the same Catholic journal remarked that war shouldn't be taken lightly. But if a conflict was necessary to save the Republic from being threatened by a European power, it could take place at no more propitious period nor with an adversary with whom a majority of our citizens would sooner contend "than with our hereditary enemy."⁵⁹

Some critics of the Administration charged that the President was taking advantage of popular feeling, capitalizing on the wave of warlike spirit, with the hope of securing a third term. The *Pilot* labeled this accusation as "contemptible." What a question to ask, the editor declared, because an American president "stands up for his own country?" Nevertheless, the paper discounted the charge of politics and asserted that "we will give him a thirteenth term if he lives long enough, it's long since we had a Jackson in the White House."⁶⁰ Likewise a conference of the Diocese of Erie rejected the charge of politics and gave public support to the President's action. Under the direction of Bishop Tobias Mullin,⁶¹ the priests of the Diocese of Erie adopted a resolution endorsing President Cleveland's position on the Venezuelan question and forwarded the document to Washington.⁶²

Alarmed by the growing warlike fervor enveloping the Catholic press and some of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy,⁶³ Cardinal Gibbons used his high office to dampen the belligerent spirit

⁵⁸ Bailey, *Diplomatic History*, pp. 485-486.

⁵⁹ Jan. 19, 1896, p. 56; Dec. 28, 1895, p. 401.

⁶⁰ Dec. 28, 1895.

⁶¹ Bishop of Erie, Penn., 1868-99. Code, *Dictionary*, p. 249.

⁶² *Pilot*, Jan. 18, 1896.

⁶³ *Public Opinion*, Jan. 2, 1896, reported that Catholic journals applauded Cleveland's message while most Protestant papers assailed. Nevins, *Cleveland*, p. 642.

within the Church and the nation. After some discussion as to the most appropriate manner in which to proceed, it was finally decided that a joint statement be made by the three highest ranking prelates in the United States, England, and Ireland.⁶⁴ On Easter Sunday, April 5, 1896, James Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore, Michael Cardinal Logue, archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, and Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, archbishop of Westminster, issued their joint statement advocating arbitration.⁶⁵ As representatives of the "Prince of Peace," they issued the appeal on Easter Sunday in order to ask the people to unite and press their convictions upon their respective governments to demand a peaceful resolution to the differences now before their countries. The *Catholic Review* commented quickly on the joint statement and indicated "they may expect the blessings promised to peacemakers."⁶⁶

The Venezuelan issue afforded an opportunity for the Catholic press and members of the Catholic Church to assert a vigorous, even at times a belligerent nationalism. Whether traditional hatred for England was a larger factor in this vigorous position than genuine nationalism is extremely difficult to determine.⁶⁷ The leaders of the Church in America were almost completely of Irish heritage, and the incident over Venezuela found nationalism and long-standing grievances against Great Britain coinciding. It is interesting to note, however, that the top leadership in the Catholic Church recognized this growing belligerent attitude and proceeded to use the prestige of the cardinalate to offset the war-like fervor. The incident, nevertheless, permitted Catholics to associate themselves more closely with American nationalism. They would soon be called upon to evaluate American imperialism.

The extension of the jurisdiction of the United States beyond the territorial limits of the American continent, as one authority

⁶⁴ Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 83-84.

⁶⁵ *Catholic Review*, April 18, 1896, p. 241.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ The Irish National Alliance offered the government the services of 100,000 soldiers. After this affair the feeling in America for foreign embroilment and foreign expansion became accelerated. See Nevins, *Cleveland*, pp. 641-642.

has indicated, was first seriously considered by the administration of Benjamin Harrison.⁶⁸ Ranking high on the list of coveted territory were the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands.⁶⁹ After the first landing of an American missionary group in 1820, the white population steadily increased and by mid-century Honolulu resembled, as one writer described, "a typical New England town."⁷⁰ With such an increase in American migration, a natural desire to become an integral part of the United States soon became apparent. An attempt was made by the Pierce administration to annex the Hawaiian Islands, but ended in defeat. Efforts, however, were again renewed after the American Civil War, but were confined largely to arranging a reciprocity treaty which likewise ended in failure. In 1875 a reciprocity treaty was finally approved and the Hawaiian Islands were granted a favored tariff position to last a period of seven years. In 1884, after expiration of the first treaty, renewal negotiations were undertaken, but it was not until 1887 that a new treaty was finally approved with the concession on the part of Hawaii to the United States of exclusive right to Pearl Harbor as a coaling station. Through access to a free American market which the reciprocity treaty provided, Hawaiian prosperity increased considerably and influenced domestic developments on the islands.

In 1887 the leaders of the white community revolted against King Kalakaua and forced the creation of a constitution. Soon a change also came in the United States tariff policy, admitting other foreign sugar on equal terms with Hawaiian importation. This action virtually created an economic crisis within the islands, and the white business community was looking more anxiously for annexation. The Hawaiian legislature was firmly secured by the propertied class, and in 1891 the King was succeeded by his sister, Queen Liliuokalani, who was to have a short tenure. In the spring of 1892 Lorrin A. Thurston, a leader of the white group in Hawaii, visited Washington and received secret encouragement from Harrison's cabinet for a proposed program of royal abdication and

⁶⁸ Pratt, *History*, p. 372.

⁶⁹ Nevins, *Cleveland*, p. 549, points out that the proposed Hawaiian annexation aroused the first serious debate over the question of American imperialism.

⁷⁰ Bailey, *Diplomatic History*, p. 467.

formal annexation. Successful implementation of the plan took place in 1893 when the Queen was compelled to abdicate and the President, having only a short time before the Cleveland administration was to take office, hurriedly sent a treaty of annexation to the Senate on February 15, 1893. Time, however, was running out; the Cleveland administration began in March; and the new President quickly withdrew the proposed treaty of annexation from the Senate. In the meantime a constitutional convention drew up a constitution for Hawaii in 1894; the United States restored Hawaii's favored tariff position; and a Republican victory in 1896 again brought up the question of formal annexation. Soon after the inauguration of President McKinley, a treaty of annexation was signed on June 16, 1897, followed immediately by a Japanese protest three days later. The final consummation of the annexation, however, did not come until the following year, in the midst of the war with Spain, when a joint resolution was approved on July 7, 1898.

Catholic religious activity in Hawaii commenced soon after the landing of Protestant missionaries and in 1827 the Fathers of the Sacred Heart began their attempts to secure converts among the natives. In a short time a prefecture apostolic was set up in their care. After some difficulty in the beginning with persecutions on the part of the Hawaiian government and after the French government undertook disciplinary action against Hawaii in 1839, Catholic population increased and the prefecture was made a vicariate apostolic by 1844. By 1895 the Catholic population of the islands was estimated to be 31,000 out of a total of 90,000 inhabitants. Church property in the same year included thirty-five churches, fifty-nine chapels, one college, three academies, and ten parochial schools.⁷¹ Much of the documentation recording the activity of the church in Hawaii illustrated Catholic progress and criticised Protestant efforts in missionary labor. "In Hawaii," a typical passage read, "they have succeeded in building a wealthy colony of a few hundred planters and merchants . . . this may be enterprise or business success, but it is not christianizing a nation."⁷²

⁷¹ L. W. Mulhane, "The Church in the Sandwich Islands," *Catholic World*, LXIII (August 1896), 652.

⁷² Bryan J. Clinch, "Hawaii and its Missionaries," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XIX (January 1894), 152.

Individual members of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy permitted the issue of Hawaii to pass without notice. The early attempts by the Harrison administration to get the treaty ratified by the United States Senate likewise passed without comment in the Catholic press. When Cleveland withdrew the treaty, the Church remained silent and it was not until the administration of William McKinley proceeded to renew negotiations for a treaty that a portion of the Catholic press expressed their views. Other issues appeared to dominate the Catholic writers in this early period, and high on the list were Church domestic affairs. Gradually, however, the question of Hawaii reemerged, and Catholic journals indicated their points of view.

A considerable amount of criticism was expressed on Hawaii's domestic politics. Typical was a comment in a New York Catholic journal which found the "thirty gentlemen who in 1893 stood as Godfathers to the infant republic very uneasy in 1896." The editor also asserted that because the provisional government failed to win the support of the natives a crisis "may not be delayed for long."⁷³ And the *Pilot* seemed to be thinking in similar terms when the editor took notice of the Republican victory in 1896. When President Cleveland issued his Thanksgiving Day proclamation shortly after his defeat, the *Pilot* observed the coincidence that President Dole of Hawaii pardoned Queen Liliuokalani on the same day. "This action," the editor wrote, anticipating American protection under President McKinley, "means that Hawaii now is safe with the retirement of Cleveland."⁷⁴

The editor of the *Catholic Review* expressed one of the earliest attitudes of the Catholic press. After noting irregularities in the formation and disposition of the government of Hawaii, this journal felt that "Hawaii should be for Hawaiians just as America is for Americans." Later, after the treaty of annexation was signed in 1897, the same journal added that Americans owned most of the islands and wished to annex them with the assistance of the American fleet regardless of the "naked Hawaiians." And as the movement for expediting the annexation proceeded, the editor again reviewed Hawaiian developments, stating that only four thousand voters were involved in electing

⁷³ *Catholic Review*, Feb. 22, 1896, p. 113.

⁷⁴ Nov. 14, 1896.

the constitutional convention and that the islands were now in the control of an "oligarchy of revolutionary thieves." To accept the country from them would be to take part in "their crimes." However, on the eve of the passage of the joint resolution, the editor acknowledged the necessity of a coaling station, and while asserting that if it were a time of peace, annexation would not have a chance, he concluded: "It may be necessary in time of war."⁷⁵

A New England Catholic journal likewise seemed to have a change of heart on the Hawaiian question. Commenting on affairs involving the Sandwich Islands, the *Pilot* at first doubted "the wisdom of annexation." Power on the islands, the editor believed, was in dispute between an intelligent, well educated, legitimate monarch, a devout Christian according to her light, and a usurping oligarchy, unscrupulous in politics and "narrowly sectarian in religion." However, after an earlier reference to the possibility of the islands falling to the British, the *Pilot* declared that we might not want or need the Hawaiian Islands, but we could not permit them to fall into the hands of "any rival power." Acquisition should not come by chicanery, honor required us to take them with full compensation, and a just compromise should be worked out to compensate the Queen "for the loss of prestige and power." In addition, the editor anticipated the charge of imperialism and quickly pointed out that the motive was self defense and indicated that New Mexico and Arizona were still in the American political structure as territories. When the war with Spain occurred, the editor also noted that Japanese students were coming into Hawaii in "large numbers" and warned Uncle Sam to keep his eyes open lest a shrewd oriental be in possession of the key to the Pacific while debate continued on questioning whether to accept "the gift." And on the eve of the resolution's acceptance, the *Pilot* was quite exasperated. Finding the chief objection to annexation the foreign composition of Hawaii, the editor declared that the United States accepted and welcomed "thousands every year." A culprit undoubtedly was at work delaying the acceptance of the treaty, and the procrastination was characteristically attributed "to Great Britain."⁷⁶

⁷⁵ *Catholic Review*, Feb. 22, 1896; Feb. 5, 12, July 2, 1898.

⁷⁶ Jan. 22, 1, 29, 1898; May 8, June 26, 1897.

The *Catholic World* likewise affirmed the desirability of retaining the islands in the Pacific. In his only reference to the Hawaiian question, the editor expressed his view shortly before the resolution was finally approved in the United States Congress. Acknowledging the fact that the United States was currently engaged in hostilities with Spain, he asserted that "America must have a coaling station, a harbor of defense and a storehouse of ammunition in the midst of these activities." The Pacific, he pointed out, was also a European area of activity and in order to preserve American interests "the American flag must wave over Honolulu." Confident of the island's retention by the United States and anticipating America's greater participation and significance in world affairs, the editor also suggested the construction of a canal through Nicaragua in order to make the islands "more readily accessible." Otherwise the United States must have a "two ocean navy."⁷⁷

Commenting on a pamphlet which described the history of the Catholic Church on the Sandwich Islands, the *Catholic News* also seemed favorably disposed toward Hawaiian annexation. After reviewing the contents of a pamphlet which described inhumane treatment accorded Catholics on the islands, the *Catholic News* asserted: "It would be well this literary curiosity had a wide circulation, the more so that the islands may soon come under the jurisdiction of the United States."⁷⁸

Published for the German-Speaking Catholic population of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, *Der Wahrheits-Freund* took an opposite view on the Hawaiian question. When an editorial appeared in a New York journal condemning the annexation treaty, the editor of this Catholic paper commented that it was sarcastic but to the point: "We are now going to have Chinese, Japanese, Malays, and are doing our best to get hard workers as immigrants." The fatherland of the United States would be bigger and this proposed annexation was "undoubtedly a big achievement."⁷⁹

A periodical published by one of the religious orders also expressed opposition to annexation. A few days before the

⁷⁷ *Catholic World*, LXVII (June 1898), 426.

⁷⁸ Oct. 31, 1897.

⁷⁹ Oct. 6, 1897.

joint resolution was approved the *Ave Maria* felt that the islands had been acquired by robbing a "widow." And after the annexation became official the magazine commented on the ceremonies which formally passed jurisdiction to the United States. Few nations were present, the editor observed, as the United States flag was raised over the islands. The Hawaiians had no heart for the annexation and the ceremonial procedure was a day of gloom for gentle Hawaiians: "The end of a century of high civilization has been signalized by national crimes without parallel in modern history. The seizure of Hawaii is one of them."⁸⁰

The issue of Hawaii on the whole appeared to get a comparatively insignificant amount of attention from the Catholic press when compared to the controversy which was later to take place over the former Spanish islands. Members of the hierarchy and clergy also failed to join the controversy and express their views. However, from early omission to later expression, a portion of the Catholic press assumed a favorable disposition in some quarters and opposition on proposed annexation in others. The outbreak of the war with Spain undoubtedly prompted some change of opinion, while it failed to affect other organs of expression in the Catholic Church. Disagreement persisted.

The question of imperialism, the war with Spain, and the later debates regarding the disposition of the former Spanish possessions had their roots in the Cuban rebellion. After previous unsuccessful attempts to secure independence, inhabitants of the Spanish possession raised the banner of revolt on February 24, 1895. The outbreak of the rebellion could be traced in a large degree to a change in American tariff policy in 1894 which ended an advantageous reciprocity arrangement with Spain and caused severe economic hardship for Cuba. Alarmed by the substantial progress of the rebels, the Spanish government appointed General Valeriano Weyler to undertake more severe measures to end the revolt. Weyler's sterner measures by the end of 1897 were succeeding, and the rebel cause appeared to be losing ground.

⁸⁰ July 2, Sept. 3, 1898.

Meanwhile a change in the composition of the Spanish government forced Weyler's resignation, and a growing interventionist disposition on the part of the American people prompted the United States government to order the *Maine* to Havana in January 1898. On February 15, 1898, an explosion of undetermined origin sank the *Maine*, and a warlike fervor gripped the American nation.

Individual members of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy did not comment on the Cuban revolution prior to the Maine affair. The Catholic press, however, took note of the disturbance and proceeded to make its views known. The *Catholic News* acknowledged the revolt shortly after it began and was quite annoyed when the *Allianca*, an American vessel, was fired upon six miles from the Cuban coast. When the American government lodged a protest with the Spanish authorities, the *Catholic News* asserted that "Spain must apologize." Satisfied with the contents of the communication dispatched by the State Department, the editor pointed out that the United States would not tolerate such "nonsense." The incident was clearly an outrage and the note would teach the "Spanish not to fire on our vessels."⁸¹ The editor of *Pilot* seconded his New York colleague by indicating that it would be a pity to fight Spain—the British would be more of a match—but "if we must we shall."⁸²

Early expressions in the Catholic journals were sympathetic to the revolutionary cause. After acknowledging that the Cubans were renewing their struggle with Spain, the *Pilot* declared that "friends of liberty hope they won't lose again." Every argument, the editor added, was in favor of "Cuba Libre," and he had some harsh words for those who found remedy for discontent in "suppression."⁸³ The New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* agreed in this estimate. The editor, expressing sympathy for the insurgents, declared that they "were struggling for liberty." Believing that Spain had lost its former American possessions because of misgovernment, the editor discounted complete independence as a solution to the Cuban situation and felt "home rule was needed." And acknowledging the discussion taking place in Congress to recognize the belligerents in Cuba, the same editor

⁸¹ March 10 and 17, 1895.

⁸² March 7, 1895.

⁸³ March 16, 1895.

urged positive action and reminded the legislative body that "Spain was one of the first nations to recognize the South in our late war."⁸⁴

The appointment of General Weyler also received notice. Weyler, the *Pilot* believed, was doing for Cuba what Salisbury was doing for Ireland, though "without as much blood." The editor asked if the American government were going to remain "idle" while the people were asking that something "be done for humanity." Recalling the Venezuelan disagreement with Great Britain, the *Pilot* added that "we can afford a firm attitude." To permit the Cuban affair to go without correction would be beneath dignity since we made "the insolent English swallow their threats."⁸⁵ The *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* appeared to concur. The editor indicated with sarcasm that Weyler was making "a lot of proclamations." The rebels "must be strong if 130,000 Spanish soldiers can't crush the rebellion. To say the revolt is a negro riot puts a low estimate on the Cuban army." And anticipating additional repressive measures, the editor declared that Spain "would, out of national pride, continue the war, but the end will be a free Cuba." As Weyler's repressive policy became more manifest, the same paper found it a pity that Weyler did not venture outside the fortifications of Havana so the patriots could catch him and retaliate for his "butcheries of prisoners by hanging him to the highest tree." And a short time later the editor added that the Cuban rebels were carrying on civilized warfare while the "Spanish butcher Weyler has shocked the world." When rumor predicted Weyler's resignation, the editor again asserted that, "it is in the interests of humanity and Spanish honor that the blood mad Weyler be recalled and put where he can do no harm."⁸⁶ And when Weyler was finally dismissed from the Cuban command, the *Pilot* observed that the Spanish general once had said that it was his life's ambition to lead an invading army into the United States. If this ever transpired, "it would be bad for him and his army if the American people ever found it out."⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Oct. 19, 1895.

⁸⁵ Feb. 29, 1896.

⁸⁶ April 25, Jan. 20, July 11, Oct. 3, 1896.

⁸⁷ Dec. 25, 1897.

In its first editorial expression on the Cuban revolt, the *Catholic Review* displayed some apprehension. Affirming that it was natural to extend sympathy to the rebels fighting for liberty, the editor then questioned whether the "Cubans would gain by the triumph of the rebel cause." Asking whether there were any guarantees that the rebel government would be more just, the editor believed that "the movers of the rebellion have the same stripes as those in Mexico and the South American states." Hearing that many would take advantage of the revolutionary slogans to "feather their own nests," he felt that this "would be a reckless crowd, Godless, and where the people would be taxed beyond endurance." He then cited the course of revolution in Mexico where damage had been done to churches, but also indicated that he would "be glad if these suspicions were unfounded." The clergy, in the meantime, were advised "to look out for the treasures of the churches and to hide the sacred vessels."⁸⁸

As the rebellion continued through 1897, sympathy as well as apprehension was still expressed. The *Pilot* reiterated its consistent position and maintained that the "laws of nations are most flexible." Reduced to common language, the editor asserted, this signified that "might makes right" and it might be advisable to help sever American hemispheric connections with Europe. Disavowing any territorial gains, the editor proceeded to cite the Monroe Doctrine, contrasted this historic American pronouncement with Spanish military intervention in Cuba, and maintained that, as America cut additionally loose from Europe, the "United States will enjoy greater security."⁸⁹

Der Wahrheits-Freund likewise was displeased with Spanish measures in Cuba. Attributing Spain's decline to freemasonic and liberal rule, the editor cited misgovernment as the greatest factor in the loss of her possessions. Spain's prestige was sinking and her civilization decaying; debt was a constant burden; and if she lost Cuba "she will go bankrupt."⁹⁰

Opposing views, however, also continued. One Catholic writer maintained that "with Spain the United States have no grounds

⁸⁸ June 14, 1896, p. 373.

⁸⁹ Jan. 2, 1897.

⁹⁰ Nov. 3, 1897.

for quarrel or complaint." Finding the attitude of the American press discreditable for its fierce attacks on Spain, the writer showed that civil wars were not uncommon in this area and pointed out they were going on in Brazil, Guatemala, and Haiti, and asked why the American press failed to report them. Fair-minded Americans would leave the Cuban affair to the parties directly concerned, and it was only natural for Spain to object just as it was natural for American patriots to object "to South Carolina's secession." Although the writer felt home-rule logical, he cited the troublesome course Latin America had followed since it left Spain and asserted that "it might be worthwhile to examine the real motives for this desire for the overthrow of Spanish government in Cuba at the present time."⁹¹ The *Ave Maria* also displayed a more temperate disposition. Commenting on the President's December message to Congress, the editor asserted that it "hardly arouses enthusiasm of jingoes." The periodical attributed the widespread jingo attitude to the accounts of Spanish atrocity, "most of which had been perpetrated in American newspaper offices." Expressing satisfaction with the President's message, the editor indicated that the President "wisely suggests that Spain and Cuba be left to settle their family quarrel." In addition the *Ave Maria*, angered by false news-reporting, recalled the words of Abraham Lincoln "on fooling people" and declared that the "press will be found out."⁹²

As the year 1898 was approaching, it would appear that individual Church officials permitted the Cuban affair to go without comment. The Catholic press, however, examined the disturbance in the Caribbean and expressed sympathy as well as apprehension for the Cuban insurgents. Some journals joined in a modified jingo chorus and others were quite vocal in their opposition to the warlike fever. The bulk of Catholic press opinion, however, did not openly advocate American military intervention in Cuba.

After the destruction of the *Maine*, a stronger belligerence became apparent in American public opinion. Although partially

⁹¹ Bryan J. Clinch, *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XXII (Oct. 1897), 809-813.

⁹² Dec. 18, 1898, p. 791.

held in abeyance until the official report on the *Maine* inquiry was disclosed, public anger eventually encouraged President McKinley to take a firmer attitude toward Spain. In spite of Spain's capitulation to American demands, President McKinley sent his war message to Congress on April 11, 1898; Congress approved a joint resolution on April 19 which fulfilled the President's request; and an official declaration of war was passed six days later. The reasons offered in the President's message to justify the use of force in Cuba were to end the nuisance at our door, to protect American property rights in Cuba, and to terminate hostilities which were affecting the peace in the Atlantic.⁹³

With the threat of war more serious after the destruction of the *Maine*, individual members of the Catholic Church took notice of the events and expressed their views. At a memorial Mass held in St. Stephen's Church, Washington, D.C., at which Monsignor Sebastian Martinelli,⁹⁴ apostolic delegate to the United States, officiated, Father Frederic Z. Rooker,⁹⁵ secretary to the apostolic delegation, preached the sermon. After paying tribute to the lives lost on the *Maine*, Dr. Rooker said he would dwell neither on their patriotism nor upon the causes for which they were sent to Havana. These matters he would "leave to the nation," and clearly expressed his neutral position by indicating that the purpose here was "to pray."⁹⁶

Also in a sermon which expressly honored the dead of the *Maine*, Cardinal Gibbons urged caution and indicated his appraisal of the tense situation: "This nation is too brave, too strong and powerful and too just to engage in an unrighteous and precipitate war. Let us remember that the eyes of the world are upon us whose judgment we cannot despise . . ." Hoping that the destruction of the American vessel could be attributed to an accident, the cardinal felt that then Spain could not be held at fault. If the destruction could be traced to a fanatic this also would relieve Spain of responsibility, and the cardinal made it clear that only a proof of clear intent by Spain "would justify war." However, he also asserted that he could not believe that

⁹³ Bailey, *Diplomatic History*, pp. 504-508.

⁹⁴ See Code, *Dictionary*, p. 212.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

⁹⁶ *Catholic News*, March 19, 1898.

Spain was capable of "this inhumanity."⁹⁷ When the Archbishop of New York read an account of Cardinal Gibbon's sermon in the press, he concurred in the cardinal's appraisal. Referring to the words of caution, Archbishop Corrigan remarked that "coming at this time they will help to allay the spirit of many throughout the country."⁹⁸

Interested in the attitude of organized religion toward a possible conflict with Spain, a reporter for the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* interrogated Archbishop Kain⁹⁹ and secured a statement. The archbishop quoted instances when he believed war was justified and declared that it was a means which God adopted for punishment. He also declared that nothing was holier than a war for freedom, that the Cuban revolt was just, and that "God is on her side." Finding it natural for Americans to sympathize with the Cubans, the archbishop felt that he couldn't say that the United States should intervene in Cuban affairs, for this decision should be left to Congress and the President. If national honor was at stake Catholics would fight, but the archbishop pointed out that war had not yet been declared and that citizens should wait for the decision. "Officials in Washington," he asserted, "will not let the flag be trampled on."¹⁰⁰

Sensing the imminence of war, the Archbishop of Oregon City likewise felt justified in sending instruction to the clergy and laity in his archdiocese. In a circular letter Archbishop Gross asked for prayers for peace but also declared that war was sometimes unavoidable and necessary, and "sometimes advantageous." Acknowledging that a war for independence was "well worth it," the archbishop emphasized peace and requested the recitation of one Our Father and one Hail Mary after daily Mass. He further added:

If war breaks out we are obliged in conscience to be loyal to the flag . . . the government has a right to demand money and arms in a war against a foe . . . If it comes you may rival the splendid record of loyalty, bravery, and heroism your brethren

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1898.

⁹⁸ Quoted in Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 87.

⁹⁹ John J. Kain, archbishop of St. Louis, 1895-1903. Code, *Dictionary*, p. 171.

¹⁰⁰ *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, March 13, 1898.

have won in other wars doing honor to the republic . . . If peace with honor is impossible Catholics do their duty . . .¹⁰¹

Prior to his papal diplomatic appointment to assist in securing a peaceful resolution of the tension between Spain and Cuba, the Archbishop of St. Paul issued a statement at the Waldorf while on a short visit to New York. Acknowledging that the "Maine disaster was terrible," Archbishop John Ireland further declared:

I have fully considered everything that I have seen in the papers and while at Washington I talked to officials of the government and in my opinion nothing has as yet come to light that would in any way call for a rupture between the United States and Spain.

Making it clear that he was not a pacifist and that war was "sometimes desirable," the archbishop felt that no country gained by being anxious for war and that "a great country follows reason and the path of justice."¹⁰²

Also visiting New York at this time, the Bishop of Albany felt it necessary to comment on the possibility of war. Refuting Protestant charges that Catholics in America would not fight Catholic Spain, Bishop Burke¹⁰³ asserted in a sermon that if the Republic's enemies were Catholics, non-Catholics, or infidels, American Catholics "will fight." Religion did not enter into the calculation; Catholics loved their country; and if the government decided that American rights had been assailed "every Catholic will do his duty at the cost of his life."¹⁰⁴

Lower-ranking members of the clergy also used the pulpit to express views on the growing tension between Spain and the United States. The counsel offered by Father Sylvester Malone of St. Peter and Paul's Church of Brooklyn, in a sermon delivered to his congregation shortly after the destruction of the *Maine*, seems representative. Following the pattern of the guidance offered by members of the hierarchy, Father Malone suggested that his congregation "be conservative" and not express individual opinion until the "official investigation is known." On the follow-

¹⁰¹ *Catholic Review*, March 26, 1898, p. 619.

¹⁰² *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, March 5, 1898.

¹⁰³ Thomas M. A. Burke, bishop of Albany, N.Y., 1894-1915. *Code, Dictionary*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁴ *New York Times*, April 11, 1898.

ing Sunday the same clergyman informed his congregation that if war was declared he was for war "not only as an American, but as a Catholic priest. . . . If the *Maine* was sunk by design and if honor is at stake, give your life."¹⁰⁵

The Catholic press added its views too. The *Catholic News* asserted that the people were waiting for a verdict from the court of inquiry investigating the explosion. While expressing satisfaction with the words of Captain Sigsbee, commander of the *Maine*, who urged a suspension of judgment until all the facts were revealed, the editor indicated that "if it was a crime our mighty nation will not leave the world long in doubt as to how it shall deal with cowardly murderers of our sailors."¹⁰⁶

Waiting at least a month before expressing any attitude on the tragedy in Havana, the *Catholic Review* declared that it was silent until now to "determine the truth." Extending sympathy for the victims of the disaster, it showed impatience with the slowness of the investigation and hoped for a conclusion. In a later issue a considerable contempt was expressed for the "yellow journals" which "make absurd pronouncements" that "have to be taken with a grain of salt." Praising the President for his "self possession" in such a journalistic atmosphere, the journal then added that "we do not want war if it could be avoided with honor." But on the eve of the official declaration of war, the same paper urged that "if war comes it is the duty of citizens to give moral, physical, and financial support to the stars and stripes."¹⁰⁷

When the court of inquiry finally ascertained the cause of the explosion, but failed to establish responsibility for the Maine disaster, the New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* reviewed the investigation, condemned the yellow press, and interpreted the President's message to Congress in a pacific manner: "We have the testimony of the President of the United States that as yet no well defined cause for drawing the sword exists." The editor also had some harsh words for "Methodist Ministers who shout for war." If war came Catholics' blood would flow and Catholics would be loyal, "not like the Methodist Church South during the civil war." The same paper saw money-

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21 and 28, 1898.

¹⁰⁶ Feb. 19 and 26, 1898.

¹⁰⁷ March 16 and 27, April 23, 1898.

changers at work who "scent profit." After observing that President McKinley had called on J. P. Morgan & Co. to raise \$100,000,000, the editor asserted that "shylocks would have an interest in war" and that the proposed transaction would "help fasten upon us the gold standard, which would mean taking millions from the toilers to add them to the overflowing coffers of Shylock."¹⁰⁸

Commenting on the \$50,000,000 appropriation approved by Congress for national defense, *Der Wahrheits-Freund* indicated that it "might cause war," but "if you want peace you must prepare for war." While the Woodford negotiations were in progress, the same paper observed: "We hope the President has the power to keep the demagogues quiet." The editor also added that "we expect Spain to do the same." And shortly before America finally became involved in hostilities with Spain, he commented severely when the insurgents in Cuba reportedly had destroyed some German property; "The insurgents are as barbarous as Weyler."¹⁰⁹

Although not a professedly Catholic newspaper, the *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator* gave considerable coverage to Church affairs and was somewhat representative of Catholic opinion. Asserting that the case against Spain was strong and finding that her conduct in Cuba enlisted sympathy for the insurgents, the editor believed that the Cuban cause was like Ireland's: ". . . the Spanish regarded Cuba as an orange, to be squeezed for all its worth." However, although expressing sympathy, the editor did not sanction American intervention. He also interpreted President McKinley's address to Congress peacefully: "As yet, no well defined cause for drawing the sword exists."¹¹⁰

When announcement was made that the pope was willing to arbitrate the differences between Spain and Cuba,¹¹¹ the bulk of

¹⁰⁸ April 9 and 16, 1898.

¹⁰⁹ March 16, April 6 and 13, 1898.

¹¹⁰ March 14, April 16, 1898.

¹¹¹ On the same day that the State Department sent its firm instructions to Minister Woodford (March 27, 1898) in Madrid, the pope directed Archbishop Ireland to go to Washington to work in the interests of peace. Ireland was selected because of his "Republican connections," and his failure to succeed in his mission was attributed by one authority to the fact that Madrid had announced that the request came from President

the Catholic press and many Church officials had already indicated their pacific attitudes. With papal intentions disclosed, the *Ave Maria*, the *Catholic News*, and the *Catholic Herald* as well as other publications of the Catholic press supported papal arbitration and opposed early demands for United States intervention. The only Catholic journal which indicated a belligerent and interventionist attitude was the *Pilot*.

The *Pilot*, soon after the *Maine* was destroyed, appeared moderate and felt that it "may have been an accident," but declared if Spain was responsible we will "exact punishment." When the \$50,000,000 appropriation was passed the same journal applauded Congress for its "vision to make us strong." In an earlier issue the editor attributed the possibility of war to a lack of naval preparation: "Had the country been properly prepared to resist aggression as it should have been years ago, there would never have been even the shadow of a war scare, and the *Maine* crew would probably be safe today." After the *Maine* report was made public, the same journal believed that "The *Maine* was destroyed by the Spanish . . . with or without the connivance of authorities." The issues now were questions of humanity and international law, and if international law meant might made right "very well, we have the might and the right, and let us use them." And in the following issue, the *Pilot* observed that a Spanish flotilla was reaching our coast and "unless it is intercepted and disarmed or destroyed, the *Maine* may reoccur." Asking whether it was an act of wisdom to be crippled, the editor demanded "a little less diplomacy and a little more energy, Mr. President."¹¹²

It appears that the Catholic Church was a moderating influence from the time of the explosion of the battleship *Maine* to the final outbreak of the war. Individual members of the hierarchy and

McKinley. See Lester B. Shippee and Royal B. Way, "William Rufus Day," in Bemis *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, IX (New York, 1928), pp. 93-94; *New York Times*, April 4, 1898. The *Times* carried the story for the first time on this date. Three separate dispatches reported rumors of Papal mediation. A Madrid release indicated that the suggestion for mediation came from Washington; a Washington report denied the Madrid report; and a London dispatch indicated that both Spain and the United States accepted the papal offer. For Archbishop Ireland's participation in the peace efforts, see Moynihan, *John Ireland*, pp. 162-210.

¹¹² Feb. 26, March 19 and 12, April 2 and 9, 1898.

clergy gave pacific counsel but did not rule out the necessity or desirability of war. The Catholic press, likewise, reflected almost a completely noninterventionist disposition and urged this attitude upon its readers. The Church was content to leave the responsibility for war or peace to proper government authorities and indicated that it would follow the decision arrived at by the administration.

Soon after hostilities commenced the archbishops of the United States addressed a circular letter to the clergy and the Catholic population. After praising President McKinley for his patience with Spain and declaring that his leadership in the crisis deserved admiration, the prelates asserted their loyalty to the Republic and called "for victory on land and sea." They also requested prayers for the United States and God's blessing upon American efforts.¹¹³

Cardinal Gibbons also indicated his view shortly after the war began. In a statement to the press the cardinal declared: "Catholics in the United States have but one sentiment, whatever may have been their opinions as to the expediency of war, now that it is on they are united in upholding the government."¹¹⁴ Later, in response to a request from President McKinley, Gibbons asked all churches in his archdiocese to thank God for United States' victories and to pray "for souls lost in fighting."¹¹⁵ Also, taking advantage of the commencement exercises at the Catholic University of America, the cardinal praised Dewey's victory in Manila and counseled the graduates "on spiritual and intellectual weapons."¹¹⁶

The Archbishop of Cincinnati,¹¹⁷ in a pastoral letter to his clergy and laity, stated that Catholics had no need for instruction in the present crisis, for "service to the country is part of service to God." God made it the nature of men to live in civil society;

¹¹³ *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, May 14, 1898.

¹¹⁴ Ellis, *Gibbons*, p. 91.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Catholic News*, June 18, 1898.

¹¹⁷ William Henry Elder, archbishop of Cincinnati, 1883-1904. *Code, Dictionary*, p. 95.

hence civil society must be obeyed and obligations must be performed "under pain of sin."¹¹⁸

In an interview granted to the press Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia¹¹⁹ remarked: "The Catholic Church in America is patriotic . . . all over the country we are seeking God's blessing upon the American cause." Indicating that he would do the same as Catholics had done elsewhere, the archbishop asserted: "I intend to direct that prayers be said regularly in the Church of my diocese for the restoration of peace."¹²⁰ Archbishop Gross of Oregon City agreed with Archbishop Ryan. A short time after hostilities ended he stated that the "war showed Catholic patriotism. . . . The infidel governments of Europe had learned their lesson. . . . God was the author of this success."¹²¹

In a sermon Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul also counseled Catholics. After his unsuccessful efforts with President McKinley to prevent war, the archbishop declared: "What is the duty of Christians in our country's present crisis? It is to accept manfully, loyally, the mandate of the supreme power of the nation . . . beyond doubt this is our religious duty. It could not be laid down more plainly for us in the Holy writ."¹²² However, Archbishop Ireland accepted the war with patriotism but not with enthusiasm, for he felt that there should not have been a war.¹²³ His misgivings about the war were acknowledged to close associates in the hierarchy, and at least one of them, Bishop Keane,¹²⁴ took issue with the archbishop's evaluation:

Your acknowledgment concerning the "wrong" of the war is painful in the extreme. It is hard to be enthusiastically loyal to one's country if you believe she is wrong. I view it in the light of "higher law." I say humanity demanded that Spain should simply get up and leave, as she had to do in all those other colonies of hers, and that I am proud of our country for doing a service to humanity and providence.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ *Catholic Review*, May 7, 1898, p. 714.

¹¹⁹ John Patrick Ryan, archbishop of Philadelphia, 1884-1911. Code, *Dictionary*, pp. 310-311.

¹²⁰ *Pilot*, July 16, 1898.

¹²¹ *Boston Herald*, Sept. 19, 1898.

¹²² *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, May 14, 1898.

¹²³ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, p. 171.

¹²⁴ John J. Keane, first rector of Catholic University, 1888-95, archbishop of Dubuque, Iowa, 1900-11. Code, *Dictionary*, p. 173.

¹²⁵ Keane to Ireland, May 24, 1898, quoted in Patrick H. Ahern, *The Life of John J. Keane* (Milwaukee, 1955), p. 232.

Keane also found considerable criticism of America in Europe. While in Rome he described the European attitude toward American involvement with Spain: "Feeling is more and more intense for Spain, and we are the enemy. I simply have to stand up to it, as our sailors and soldiers do. Yet I shall be glad to leave here Saturday."¹²⁶ And to Cardinal Gibbons Keane described his defense of the American efforts:

While I am not aggressive, they find me unflinching in standing up for my country. Weighing on the one side the old worn out "vested interests" that are being broken up, and on the other hand, the interests of civilization which our cause represents, I could not, even as an impartial judge, hesitate which way my sympathy should go. I thank God ever more and more for being an American.¹²⁷

In a sermon delivered at St. Mary's Cathedral in Trenton, New Jersey, Bishop McFaul declared that American victories were deserved because the American cause was just. Acknowledging that war in general "is terrible," he maintained that American intervention was necessary to protect homes and to "crush oppression." The Spanish people were religious, but the rulers were irreligious." And a short time later the bishop addressed the fourth regiment of New Jersey Volunteers at Sea Girt, New Jersey. To an estimated audience of seven hundred soldiers, he stated that "you soldiers of America are engaged in this warfare for humanity . . . enter into battle with clear hearts."¹²⁸

Bishop Byrne of Nashville also circulated directions to the clergy and laity in his diocese. After reviewing the events which led to war and praising President McKinley's patience, he asserted "that no two opinions should exist." The bishop added that resort to arms was determined by the President after he had exhausted honorable means.¹²⁹

At commencement exercises at Villanova College, the Honorable Bourke Cockran, in an address to an audience which included Monsignor Martinelli, apostolic delegate to the United States and Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia, reviewed the changes in the

¹²⁶ Same to same, June 19, 1898, *ibid.*, p. 233.

¹²⁷ Keane to Gibbons, May 15, 1898, *ibid.*, p. 232.

¹²⁸ *Catholic News*, July 23 and 30, 1898.

¹²⁹ *Catholic Review*, May 8, 1898, p. 738.

United States for the past fifty years. Attributing man's improvement to religion and to his "moral elevation," Mr. Cockran cited the material progress of the United States and its rise to a world power: "If a man were to have said that in 1898 we would behold a great power waging war, not for the extension of territory or power, but solely to redeem an oppressed nation, that man would not have been considered an enthusiast, but insane."¹³⁰

This view, however, did not prevail throughout the Church. As Archbishop Ireland had his misgivings about the war, so did the rector of the North American College in Rome. William Henry O'Connell,¹³¹ later to become cardinal, appeared to have absorbed the European attitude toward the Spanish-American conflict. In a report to Cardinal Rampolla, papal secretary of state, when this question arose he stated that, "he had not concealed from the beginning of the Spanish American War his sympathy for Spain and had openly stated the war was unjust . . . he had been openly criticized as lacking in patriotism."¹³² Because of his open disapproval of American participation in the war, the rector of the North American College later had to decline a post as Archbishop of Manila; his appointment would "arouse suspicion with civil officials and sooner or later cause great difficulty."¹³³

Lesser-ranking members of the Catholic clergy likewise discussed the hostilities with Spain. Father Sylvester Malone of Saint Peter and Paul's Church in Brooklyn maintained that Spain's method of governing was "a violation of Catholicism," and that her "wholesale annihilations" were in direct opposition to Catholicism.¹³⁴ And a short time later, in a Memorial Day service at the Church of the Paulist Fathers in New York, Father Walter Elliot, after charging that Spain assisted in a deliberate "murder of an entire people," declared that the "duty of the hour is warlike ardor."¹³⁵ In a Memorial Day service in Boston the Reverend J. J. McNulty informed his congregation that the "President after

¹³⁰ *Catholic News*, June 25, 1898.

¹³¹ Archbishop of Boston, 1907-44. See Dorothy G. Wayman, *Cardinal O'Connell of Boston* (New York, 1955).

¹³² April 20, 1903, *ibid.*, p. 108.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *New York Times*, May 2, 1898.

¹³⁵ *Catholic News*, June 4, 1898.

exhausting all peaceful means thought only by war could justice be secured." He added that Catholics' duty was "to uphold the President" in order to "free Cuba" and to "honor the nation."¹³⁶

The Catholic press also evaluated the decision to resort to arms. Soon after the outbreak of hostilities, the *Pilot* asserted that there was no occasion to question the old adage "my country, right or wrong" because the American cause was right. The United States was right because Spain had violated American property and was being punished for the *Maine*. The United States was protecting "victims of tyranny." Disavowing any territorial gains and indicating that the American decision to intervene had "grounds of humanity alone," the *Pilot* affirmed that the fight was "preferable to a protracted endurance of annoyance and injury from a quarrelsome neighbor." In a later issue the same paper likened the hostilities to a criminal receiving the death sentence. Such an action was "not of vengeance, but of justice and of punishment." And shortly after the war began the editor observed that almost all of the Harvard faculty were against the war whereas most of the students were all for it. The editor "was sorry for a school which has such little influence on the minds of the pupils," but was "glad they show more patriotism than their teachers."¹³⁷

The *Catholic News* declared that war was "inevitable" because diplomatic relations were broken and believed American arms were bound to triumph: "America enters on this war because duty compels her to do so. She tried to settle the issue between her and Spain by peaceful methods but they have failed." When the news arrived of Dewey's victory in Manila the editor asserted that this would certainly "open Europe's eyes" and "they will be mightily respectful thereafter."¹³⁸

Commenting on the Congressional resolutions which authorized the President to employ force, the *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* declared that "this of course means war." This action was "a sad necessity," brought on by Spain: "If it were not for her barbarous and inhumane methods of warfare for the last three years in Cuba, Spain would command sympathy and pity . . . with the loss of Cuba and Porto Rico the Spanish flag will dis-

¹³⁶ Boston *Herald*, May 30, 1898.

¹³⁷ July 9, April 30, May 7, 1898.

¹³⁸ April 23, May 7, 1898.

appear from the western world." And when a Catholic Mexican journal charged that the war was unjust and attributed intervention to ambition to extend American jurisdiction to the Spanish possessions, the *Freeman's Journal* rejected the allegation and asserted that "if this were the purpose of the American people we frankly confess that a war carried on to accomplish it would be unjust. We had no right to Cuba, and claimed none. The right in the case is the right of the Cubans."¹³⁹

After praising President McKinley's "wise and humane" course prior to the war, the *Catholic World* justified American use of force and defended the action of the United States: "The sentiment that burns so strongly in the American heart that Cuba must be free will so impress itself on the European nations and the Holy Father that they will compel Spain to yield to the demand of humanity." The same editor added that "every resource" of diplomacy had been exhausted but found hope in the belief that new weapons of warfare would make "modern wars short."¹⁴⁰

All of the Catholic press, however, did not so evaluate the war. Noting that the war had come during the Easter festivities, the *Catholic Review* preferred peace and believed that "no greater glory could have been won in the name of the Prince of Peace than to have averted the war by an appeal to principles of justice and charity." Acknowledging that "Christians were divided" as a result of the war, the editor reviewed papal efforts to maintain peace and felt that "if peace comes it would be with Catholic efforts." And in a later issue he rejected rumors that the pope had taken sides and proceeded to illustrate a statement from a cablegram sent by Cardinal Rampolla, papal secretary of state, to Monsignor Martinelli, apostolic delegate to the United States, which declared that the "Holy See has no other desire than for peace."¹⁴¹

Another Catholic journal was more critical. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus* did not express any opinions on the growing crisis because the editor indicated he did not "realize war was so imminent." After declaring that the world was questioning this war of liberation,

¹³⁹ April 23, July 16, 1898.

¹⁴⁰ May 1898, p. 279.

¹⁴¹ April 30, 1898, p. 699; June 4, 1898, p. 785.

he found it difficult to justify "humanity for one nation and hate for another." Such reasoning was inconsistent in logic and attributable to the press. Well-informed citizens deplored this situation.¹⁴²

Der Wahrheits-Freund was also critical of the decision to intervene in Cuba. Although the editor affirmed the need to be loyal and hoped for success, he asked whether the "heroic Senators and Representatives" who voted for the resolution authorizing the President to use force would form a volunteer corps and go to the front to "lead Uncle Sam's troops in the name of humanity." In the next issue the same paper quoted Bismarck to indicate that the "greatness and fame of the great William I does not lie in the fact that he won wars, but rather that he prevented wars." And suggesting in the same issue that war could have been avoided, and finding it difficult to justify American intervention, the editor then added that "ambitious politicians shout for war." Commenting again on the relative military capabilities of Spain and the United States, he asked, "Dear great God, would it not be heroic if the powerful state of Ohio overcame small Hamilton County?"¹⁴³

From an examination of a cross section of statements and remarks, it would appear that individual members of the Catholic Church did not look upon the war with Spain as an imperialist venture. Although some held adversely critical estimates of the decision to intervene, most of the vocal clergy found Spain guilty of oppression and evaluated the war in terms of a service to humanity and justice. Mixed feeling also prevailed in the Catholic press. Some editors gave wholehearted support to the American cause, whereas others, although urging loyalty to the government's decision, retained their misgivings. But while recognizing that they had previously asked for a peaceful solution to the Cuban problem, all spokesmen of the Church urged the Catholic population to close ranks in their support of the American cause.

After the cease-fire, the next question of outstanding importance was the final arrangements which the United States would make

¹⁴² June 1898, p. 563.

¹⁴³ April 20 and 27, 1898.

with Spain. On October 1, 1898, negotiations began in Paris to settle the questions which the war had created. The disposition of Cuba alone absorbed a whole month's discussion. When President McKinley finally arrived at a decision on the fate of the Philippines, specific instructions for retaining the Pacific Islands were sent to the American negotiators on the peace commission. On December 10, 1898, the treaty was signed, and its terms compelled Spain to relinquish sovereignty over Cuba and to cede the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam to the United States.¹⁴⁴ After considerable debate and opposition the treaty eventually was ratified in the United States Senate; and after the election of 1900, the discussions over American imperialism had been settled temporarily.¹⁴⁵

In the tradition of American democracy, the prospect of expansion beyond the territorial confines of the United States put Americans into two opposing groups. The imperialist or expansionist group had been advocating their thesis for a considerable time and found an opportunity to realize their ambition when the war with Spain was concluded. On the other hand, opponents of expansion did not let the expansionists go without opposition. The anti-imperialist movement got under way as early as May 1898 and proceeded to organize societies in the major cities of the United States.¹⁴⁶ With the disintegration of Spanish military resistance the discussions acquired a greater intensity, and the Church began to take a position on this question.

Shortly before President McKinley dispatched his specific instructions to the American negotiators in Paris on the Philippine question, the archbishops of the Catholic Church assembled in Washington for their annual meeting.¹⁴⁷ Reporters, believing that the Philippine question would form part of the churchmen's

¹⁴⁴ Bailey, *Diplomatic History*, p. 516.

¹⁴⁵ Arthur S. Link, *American Epoch* (New York, 1955), p. 140.

¹⁴⁶ Fred H. Harrington, "The Anti-Imperialist Movement in the United States, 1898-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (September 1935), p. 213.

¹⁴⁷ The American archbishops usually met in the autumn. This writer was particularly interested in the minutes of the meeting which was held in October 1898, but was unable to secure the document. These meetings are considered private, and their records are released to authorized churchmen only. The archbishops did not create policy from these discussions. They constituted essentially an advisory body. See Meehan, "Organization," p. 691, n.3 above.

agenda, sought statements from the prelates. Making provision for press interrogation, the archbishops decided against individual statements to reporters and appointed John Joseph Kain, archbishop of St. Louis, to act as the speaker for all. Archbishop Kain informed reporters that archbishops did not know "the condition of the Church in Cuba and the Philippines," and that matters in these areas were "foreign to the American hierarchy."¹⁴⁸

Some members of the group, however, evaluated American expansion individually. Of all the American archbishops, probably the most active publicly were James Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore, and John Ireland, archbishop of St. Paul. Leadership within the American Church was largely exercised by Cardinal Gibbons, as President McKinley very well knew. With the cease-fire, "there was no one who welcomed more heartily the end of the war than the Archbishop of Baltimore."¹⁴⁹ And when President McKinley was making up his mind on whether to retain the Philippines, he sought the views of Cardinal Gibbons, whom he invited to the White House. When asked by the President what his opinion of the question was, the Cardinal informed him that he did not like to see the United States take territory by force, nor did he care to see the United States become a colonial power. The Cardinal added, however, that he felt "the Church would be safer under the United States' flag."¹⁵⁰

The question of Church property entered the situation. Rome had urged the cardinal to use his influence in Washington to secure American protection for ecclesiastical officials and property in the islands,¹⁵¹ and at the same time Gibbons realized that many of the Catholic papers and members of the hierarchy and clergy were outspoken in their anti-imperialist positions. Hence, the cardinal found himself in a difficult position. He sought to keep the White House doors open in order to secure protection for the Church in the Philippines and consequently was careful not to irritate the administration in Washington. And at the same time he had to preserve his influence and leadership over anti-imperialist members of the hierarchy and clergy. One incident

¹⁴⁸ *Pilot*, Oct. 22, 1898.

¹⁴⁹ Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 92.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 93-95.

illustrates the cardinal's desire to please both sides. In deference to the anti-imperialist sentiment in the Church, he signed a petition advocating Philippine independence. When President Roosevelt was informed later of the cardinal's action, he quickly rebuked him for signing the document, and the Cardinal explained: "I should deeply regret to do anything that would in the smallest way embarrass you in your delicate task and formidable burden for maintaining peace and order in those islands."¹⁵² From that time on he opposed all efforts to hasten Philippine independence.

Unlike Cardinal Gibbons, John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, did not qualify his sympathy for the Republican policy of expansion. Although he had earlier disavowed any territorial ambitions for the United States,¹⁵³ he gradually came into the expansionist camp as the Republican Party moved closer to a policy of imperialism.¹⁵⁴ When early in the war Monsignor Denis O'Connell¹⁵⁵ wrote to Archbishop Ireland from Rome and urged him to help hold the Philippines, the archbishop said he did not like the war but was ready to urge O'Connell's point of view.¹⁵⁶ The archbishop's active interest in education partially accounts for his concern in acquiring the Philippines.¹⁵⁷ But he was likewise interested in securing American protection for church property and probably was even more influenced by his feeling that if the United States was recognized as a world power, the American Church would gradually grow in influence and favor in the Church as a whole.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁵³ For a portion of the text of Archbishop Ireland's evaluation of American war aims, see *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, May 14, 1898.

¹⁵⁴ For a detailed account of Ireland's relationship with the expansionist movement, see John T. Farrell, "Archbishop Ireland and Manifest Destiny," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXIII (October 1947), 300-314.

¹⁵⁵ Rector of the North American College in Rome, 1885-95, and of the Catholic University of America, 1903-07; bishop of Richmond, Virginia, 1912-26. Code, *Dictionary*, p. 258.

¹⁵⁶ Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 96.

¹⁵⁷ Garel A. Grunder and William E. Livezey, *The Philippines and the United States* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1951), p. 28.

¹⁵⁸ Sebastian Martinelli, apostolic delegate to the United States, also secured the assistance of Ireland on this question. When Ireland was in Washington he sounded out the President on the future of the Church in any territories annexed. The President informed him that the same condition would exist in the new territories as in the United States and that the United States would guarantee the protection of ecclesiastical properties and persons. Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 96.

Writing later to Denis O'Connell, Archbishop Ireland stated that he believed the United States must have colonies and a strong army and navy. Because the United States had achieved a great power status as a result of the war, the Vatican should understand this fact and "act accordingly."¹⁵⁹ If the Pope was to have any world-wide prestige in the future he would have to deal as never before with the United States.¹⁶⁰ Approving the Republican policy of expansion, Ireland supported the candidacy of McKinley in 1900 and after returning from Europe he felt that if the Democrats had won the election American prestige in Europe would have suffered.¹⁶¹ His Republican sympathy, however, was criticized within the Church. The editor of the *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* was especially severe: "He is unique in that he is the first Catholic Archbishop of the United States to range himself upon the side of oppression."¹⁶²

In addition to Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, William Gross, Archbishop of Oregon City, favored extension of American jurisdiction. In a pastoral letter to his clergy and laity shortly after the war was concluded, he remarked: "Acquisition has been made of Islands that will be of untold value to the interests of the republic."¹⁶³ Another western churchman had similar sentiments. Patrick Riordan, Archbishop of San Francisco, also thought that the possession of the Philippines was a blessing for the United States.¹⁶⁴ However, Archbishop Sebastian Martinelli, the apostolic delegate, was reported to have commented that American expansion was "horrible for religion."¹⁶⁵

In contrast to the favorable dispositions of the archbishops, the bishops who put themselves on record were against American expansion. John Lancaster Spalding,¹⁶⁶ Bishop of Peoria, quite outspoken in his opposition, declared that the lust for blood or gold was the root of all wars of conquest and indicated that America's true duties lay in the United States and not "ten

¹⁵⁹ Farrell, "Archbishop Ireland," p. 300.

¹⁶⁰ Ellis, *Gibbons*, II, 96.

¹⁶¹ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, p. 262.

¹⁶² Nov. 3, 1900.

¹⁶³ *Catholic News*, Sept. 3, 1898.

¹⁶⁴ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, p. 172.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Bishop of Peoria, Illinois, 1876-1908. *Code, Dictionary*, pp. 329-330.

thousand miles away.”¹⁶⁷ As the anti-imperialist movement progressed Bishop Spalding assisted in the formation of an anti-imperialist league in Chicago and held a position as vice-president in it. He revealed the aim of the organization when he asserted that the league was created “to conduct patriotic crusades against our inhuman war.”¹⁶⁸

Another Illinois bishop concurred. In a statement released to the press, entitled “The Republic in Danger,” Bishop James Ryan¹⁶⁹ of Alton observed that the “soul of America is against the war in the Philippines.” Citing the policy of expansion as the key danger to the Republic, the prelate indicated that at the door of imperialism stands militarism, the greatest threat.¹⁷⁰

Bishop Keane had been apprehensive much earlier about the policy the United States would formulate when Spain capitulated. In a communication to Archbishop Ireland he indicated his attitude:

Were Congress and the President insincere in declaring we did not want her [Cuba] and would not take her? Will they break the word they have pledged to the world? This is the danger looming up ahead, and it behooves men of influence to guard against it and to insist that we must keep our word, and we must not go into the colony business, no matter how great the scramble of other nations in that line. But I greatly fear our country is changing her base completely and is drifting into militarism of the old world. Do work against it. We must win, and then disarm, or keep up only the essentials of armaments.

Feeling that the United States was destined by providence to be the hope of all struggling races, the bishop discounted the imperialism of force in favor of “moral imperialism.”¹⁷¹

While he was on his way to Rome, reporters interviewed Bishop Bernard McQuaid¹⁷² in Queenstown, Ireland. This churchman favored Bryan in the election of 1900 and said, “according to my views we are drifting into the ways of European nations with

¹⁶⁷ *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, May 26, 1900.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1899.

¹⁶⁹ Bishop of Alton (later the Diocese of Springfield), Illinois, 1888-1923.

¹⁷⁰ *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, Jan. 20, 1900.

¹⁷¹ Keane to Ireland, May 24, 1898, in Ahern, *Keane*, p. 233.

¹⁷² Bishop of Rochester, N.Y., 1868-1909. *Code, Dictionary*, pp. 232-233.

standing armies, and eventual entanglements with all European complications." After further maintaining that he had never been satisfied that there was justification for war with Spain, Bishop McQuaid commented on the issue of imperialism: "I believe any addition to our territory at any great distance from our shores would be detrimental to the interests of America." He also professed prayers for a Democratic victory in the United States and hoped that a change in administration in Washington would "bring us back to our former state of affairs." The bishop concluded by saying that American problems were substantial enough in the United States proper and indicated "that the United States would be amply engaged if it attends to its own business."¹⁷³

Members of the lower clergy also expressed their views. John P. Chidwick, Catholic chaplain on the battleship *Maine* when it had been sunk in Havana, addressed an audience in Carnegie Hall which included Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of New York. Father Chidwick attributed the war to the *Maine* affair and believed that the people of the United States were shocked as the oppressed Cubans cried for protection. He discussed the Pacific islands, asserting that he failed to understand the hue and cry raised against the President: if the United States were not present in the Philippines, so much blood would spill that "holding the Philippines was essential." However, he did not expect permanent American retention of the islands.¹⁷⁴

Francis B. Doherty, another Catholic chaplain who was on the staff of Major General Merritt in the Philippines, also delivered a series of lectures in New York on his experiences in the Pacific. He concluded that, "Uncle Sam found that having taken off his coat to lick Spain, he found the old coat wouldn't fit." The twenty million dollars paid to Spain was a ransom, but we should remain in possession of the islands: "Catholics in America will be called upon to assume the white man's burden."¹⁷⁵

In an article written for the *Catholic World*, the Reverend Henry E. O'Keefe discussed the role of the Church in the new possession acquired by the United States. After attributing Church difficulties to Spanish misgovernment, he assumed that the situa-

¹⁷³ *Pilot*, Nov. 3, 1900.

¹⁷⁴ *Catholic News*, Feb. 4, 1899.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, March 4 and 18, 1899.

tion which the war had created placed a new duty upon the United States: "The retention of the recently acquired fruits of the conquest seems inevitable if we are to complete the humanitarian purpose for which the higher spirits opened out an unseemly war. The islands . . . seem to be honestly ours in the judgment of the world."¹⁷⁶ Because the United States could not permit Europe to "gobble them up," he declared that retention of the Philippines was inevitable, and American direction would "breathe new life in the isles."¹⁷⁷

Similar sentiments were expressed by Father A. P. Doyle, C.S.P., in another article. After reviewing the world scramble for possessions, this writer brought up the question of withdrawing from the Philippines and believed that Spanish domination was at an end and United States sovereignty beginning; "the coming of the American system is very providential to the native Filipinos."¹⁷⁸

Opposition to American expansion also came from some of the lower clergy. In a sermon delivered in Saint Cecilia's Church, Boston, the Reverend R. J. Barry declared that the United States was large enough, contained a cross section of races, and consequently did not need to expand or contract alliances; we had enough difficulties caring for ourselves; "We do not want Cuba, Philippines or Porto Rico."¹⁷⁹ In New York Thomas Gasson, S.J., echoed similar sentiments. Delivering a sermon in the presence of Archbishop Corrigan¹⁸⁰ at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Father Gasson made a "strong protest against war of aggression."¹⁸¹ Referring to the hostilities between American troops and Filipino rebels, the preacher asserted: "You ask me to speak in the pulpit of peace between nations when across Christmastide this year is heard the roar of cannon. . . . Let us realize our duty fully . . . to prevent a strong nation from trampling and preying upon the weak."¹⁸²

¹⁷⁶ Dec. 1898, p. 320.

¹⁷⁷ *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1898.

¹⁷⁸ *Catholic World*, Oct. 1898, pp. 120, 124.

¹⁷⁹ *Pilot*, March 18, 1899.

¹⁸⁰ This writer, after a very careful study of New York Catholic newspapers, was unable to find any statement by Archbishop Corrigan of New York. It would appear that the archbishop received the evaluation of Gasson favorably and that it reflected his own views on the question.

¹⁸¹ *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, Dec. 30, 1899.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

From a survey of remarks by churchmen, it appears that a diversity of opinion existed. Archbishops who made public statements were favorably disposed toward American expansion. Some bishops expressed anti-imperialist sentiments and looked upon American expansion as a departure from the American heritage and traditions. The lower clergy were divided on this question. Some justified the war on humanitarian grounds; others rejected it as a war of conquest. Estimates as to whether a larger or smaller portion accepted American expansion must take into account the attitude of the Catholic press.

Probably the most prominent Catholic journal to oppose American policy was the *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, edited by the Reverend L. A. Lambert. In his first comment on the possibility that America might replace Spanish jurisdiction in Cuba, Lambert took issue with the *Toronto Catholic Record* when that paper maintained that the Cubans were not prepared for self-government. He asserted that "governing is like swimming, you learn by going into the water." Answering the same charge of Cuban incapability made a few weeks later by the *Catholic Record* of London, Lambert charged that opponents of Cuban independence neglected to see the fact that for three years the Cubans kept an organized army in the field larger than the army of Washington during the American Revolution. And when Charles Francis Adams called the new policy a departure from American tradition, Lambert agreed and affirmed that "no people have ever been made capable of self-government by the leading-string policy of imperial nursing. . . . It comes by practice in self governing."¹⁸³

The same editor used another argument against American retention of the former Spanish possessions. Refuting the claim that America's mission was to bring a higher degree of civilization to the Philippines, he recalled our "bad record" and asked for an examination of the Indian population. Because the United States had virtually abolished the Indian while "civilizing him,"

¹⁸³ Aug. 6 and 27, 1898; Jan. 7, 1899.

what reason was there to think "we would manage better in the Philippines?" And a short time later, he cited the "war of races" in the South and in the coal regions of Illinois; it would be very well "to prove our capacity by solving these issues at home before we attempt to adjust the multi-race question in the far-off Philippines." Later, when he discovered that the War Department was using Indians to fight the rebels on the Islands, Lambert recalled how the British had hired savages in the American Revolution and angrily wrote that "as we have imitated England in land grabbing, it is proper that we imitate her in the use of savages in war." Protestants were responsible for developing the justification of America's mission and now "the republic confronts imperialism which Protestant ministers and Protestant churches have helped to thrust upon us."¹⁸⁴

On the eve of the formal signing of the treaty Lambert declared that "a crisis is facing us" and urged that if Americans were loyal to the Republic they would "fight imperialism." Because the imperialists had captured the White House, the country had not been in greater danger "since Fort Sumter." He urged his readers to "fight imperialism at the polls and in Congress through their representatives." However, in the next issue the editor found gratification in McKinley's message when the President declared that the United States would assist the Cubans to form a government which would be free and independent: "This means there will be no forced annexation." But when the treaty was finally passed in the United States Senate, Lambert angrily maintained, "the heaviest blow Spain has struck us is the cession of the Philippines, though done from compulsion."¹⁸⁵

Almost a year before the Democratic nominating convention met the same editor felt that the great issue which would assure Democracy's success in 1900 was imperialism: "If the Democrats sink all other questions and make their appeal on the grounds laid in the Declaration of Independence and the Farewell Address they will easily win." And a short time later when Senator Burrows of Michigan declared that the Philippines would be a disadvantage for the Republicans in 1900, Lambert agreed that the Republicans

¹⁸⁴ Aug. 27, Nov. 26, 1898; April 22, Feb. 18, 1899.

¹⁸⁵ Dec. 10 and 17, 1898; March 4, 1899.

would be "handicapped if forced to defend a war inaugurated in defiance of every principle . . . for the Republican party, it's a question of unloading itself of McKinleyism or facing inevitable defeat." Throughout the following year the *Freeman's Journal* campaigned vigorously for Bryan. On the eve of the election the editor, attributing a double standard of government to the administration, charged that "the degenerate Republicans want a republic here and a despotism 7,000 miles away." And finally when McKinley emerged victorious in the election Lambert acknowledged that the majority had endorsed the policy of the Republicans, but hoped that the "American people will prove exceptions in history and that the new departure may be repudiated before it is too late."¹⁸⁶

In its first reference to imperialism, the *Pilot*, noticing Dewey's victory and criticism from some quarters that the war might degenerate into some form of national aggrandizement, declared that "we do not believe in it . . . obey the eleventh commandment, mind your own business." A month later the same paper maintained in a similar fashion that the war was an "excellent chance for proving our fitness for self-government by not denying the same right to Cuba and the Philippines or any territory . . . imperialism has no place here." When hostilities ended the editor again warned that imperialist policies were the downfall of great civilizations; "they say the Philippines are poor but ways to plunder are always found." Two weeks later he used the Monroe Doctrine as a basis for rejecting expansion and asserted that it was devised to protect the continent against foreign rapacity: "It means that and nothing more. If we abandon it and go far afield for conquest in Asia or Oceania we lay ourselves open to the charge of duplicity."¹⁸⁷

Just as the *Freeman's Journal* and *Catholic Register* referred to America's poor record in civilizing its non-white population at home, the *Pilot* also used this argument to reject America's idea of mission in less developed areas. Referring to an Indian outbreak in October 1898, because of alleged hardships on a Minnesota reservation, the editor said that this Indian War would be

¹⁸⁶ June 10, Aug. 5, 1899; Oct. 27, Nov. 10, 1900.

¹⁸⁷ June 25, July 20, Aug. 20, Sept. 3, 1898.

minor to what might happen if we retained the Spanish Islands. Later, when the Philippine rebels revolted against American authority, he added that we "couldn't govern our own savages" and asked where the madness would end? The Civil War made us account in part for the treatment of the black man and we had yet to account for the treatment of the red man, and now how much more blood "must be shed?" Looking to the Democrats to reverse the policy of imperialism the editor suggested that "if the Democratic party wants to win, it must adopt a platform opposed to foreign conquest."¹⁸⁸

When the Democrats later adopted their anti-imperialist platform and nominated Bryan and Stevenson, the *Pilot* asserted that the ticket was good, the platform was good throughout, and the Democrats "will win." Earlier, commenting on a rumor that the Republicans were planning to run McKinley and Roosevelt, the editor charged that the ticket was "like an old fashion bicycle, the star wheel in back." Later, however, when the election ballots were counted, it was the money question that had brought "literally a gold victory." Accepting defeat but refusing to accept it as permanent, the *Pilot* remarked: "Democracy is not beaten. It has only suffered a reverse. The battle for the people in 1904 begins today. Long live the Republic."¹⁸⁹

Shortly after the war was over, *Der Wahrheits-Freund* declared that the conflict had increased American power and that the problems which would develop as a result of the war, particularly the way in which the Spanish possessions would be treated, would keep Congress busy. A short time later, after observing that American troops were having difficulty with the tropical climate in Puerto Rico, the editor maintained that American soldiers should be withdrawn, whereas the "senseless imperialist are crying even for more." When negotiations began in Paris in October, he suggested that all those statesmen clamoring for the Philippines should be sent there on garrison duty and that before the United States decided to retain the Islands enough soldiers should be found to go there. As the negotiations were proceeding, he declared that the United States should retain a harbor in the

¹⁸⁸ Oct. 15, 1898; Feb. 25, April 1, 1899.

¹⁸⁹ July 14, 1900; July 22, 1899; Nov. 10, 1900.

Philippines, but should not take all the 1,400 islands; it would be like giving the whole of France to Germany in the recent war. Taking the islands would mean giving up sons "for capitalistic police duty." When the treaty was finally signed, after censuring the imperialists and President McKinley, he bitterly remarked: "You don't have to be a friend of Spain to know it is against common sense to take islands half way across the globe with half wild savages."¹⁹⁰

In its first notice that the war might result in some Spanish transfer of sovereignty, the *Ave Maria* observed that the bombardment of Manila would be a restful holiday compared to what would happen if Protestant preachers got into the Philippines "bringing divorce and other sundry things." However, a short time later the same journal acknowledged that the war might enlarge the American Church and that, with the probability of Cuba and Puerto Rico becoming part of the United States, three million Catholics would be added to the census. Shortly before the peace negotiations were to open, the *Ave Maria*, after reviewing the motives behind the war, asserted that there was a lot to be learned about it "if the war was not in reality merely one of conquest on our part." Later when President McKinley released his Thanksgiving Day message to the American people, the editor noted: "The President's pen must have moved with reluctance when he wrote we were compelled to take up the sword in the cause of humanity." After the treaty, the same journal added that the United States would need an army of 100,000 to implement the decision and that the country would face a crisis "when the nation begins to expand in the wrong directions." And when the treaty was about to be acted upon in the United States Senate, it maintained:

In spite of all the assertions of newspapers to the contrary, the sentiment of the American people as a whole is decidedly against expansion and the greater number of the leading citizens of our country seem to be of the opinion that the new policy threatens the moral sense and the essential well being of the nation.¹⁹¹

A Philadelphia Catholic journal also joined the anti-imperialist

¹⁹⁰ Aug. 17, Sept. 14, Oct. 5 and 12, Dec. 14, 1898.

¹⁹¹ July 2, Aug. 6, Sept. 24, Nov. 23, Dec. 17, 1898; Feb. 4, 1899.

ranks. On the eve of the signing of the treaty the *Catholic Standard and Times* stated that McKinley was being led like Macbeth to the verge of a fatal policy:

Ambition has taken the place of sympathy . . . We are to be transformed into the oppressors ourselves by forcibly incorporating populations who do not want us, who are strangers to our institutions and our ideals, and who can by no possibility be assimilated with the people of the United States.¹⁹²

The *North Western Catholic* expressed similar sentiments and declared the United States had violated its pledge: "Uncle Sam was like a drunken man on the world's highway proclaiming the right to take that which is not his and to keep that which he never had." The British were responsible for this American departure from tradition.¹⁹³

The *Catholic Review* suggested that the big question now was whether the United States was "to go land robbing." Force was necessary in maintaining colonies but such military rule "was incompatible with our ideas of freedom." The Monroe Doctrine was a basis for rejecting the policy of expansion and the greatest obstacle to Philippine annexation. If the United States asserted in that historic pronouncement that no one might take any territory in the West, others had an equal right to say "we can't take any in the East."¹⁹⁴ Another paper, the *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, urged that the Declaration of Independence should be read in the United States Senate "to remind the country how far imperialism is causing us to drift from our moorings."¹⁹⁵

In a series of articles on this question in a leading Catholic periodical, another Catholic writer scored the expansionist policy of the administration. Attributing the American policy of expansion to British instigation, Bryan J. Clinch asserted that the policy of avoiding foreign conquests had brought great prosperity to the United States and had "put us politically in front of all." In another article some time later the same writer referred to

¹⁹² Reprinted in the *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, Dec. 10, 1898.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Aug. 21, 1898.

¹⁹⁵ Feb. 18, 1899.

American activity in the Pacific as military despotism and urged Catholics to use their sovereign power in the coming election to undo the Republican policy.¹⁹⁶

All of the Catholic press, however, did not receive the American policy with hostility. In contrast to the anti-imperialist position of many Catholic publications, the *Catholic News* carefully refrained from discussing the imperialist issue and in its only single reference on the question it displayed an affirmative attitude. Motivated largely by the need to defend the position of the friars in the Philippines, the editor anticipated with satisfaction that when the imperialist issue heightened a strong nationalist spirit natives will insure a prosperous country under American administration."¹⁹⁷

Probably the most aggressive Catholic publication which supported the administration's policy was the *Catholic World*. In its first reference to the question, this publication anticipated an expansion of American boundaries during the war and declared that some territory would accrue to the United States, "if not the Philippines, the Hawaiian group anyway." The next issue had scorn for the Protestant crusade to Christianize the Philippines and expressed "wonder if it will have the same fatal results there as it had in the Sandwich Islands." When President McKinley dispatched his specific instructions to retain the Philippines to the American negotiators, the same publication, after expressing concern for the Church on the Islands, declared that the sentiment for the policy of expansion "is growing in public opinion." The following issue contained an editorial boasting that Spanish rule was over and events had placed the United States in the forefront; "America is not relinquishing one particle of advantage she has attained through the late war."¹⁹⁸

The same publication referred to American policy not as imperialism but expansion. The reasons for American retention were clear: "The baby that has been left on our doorstep has been adopted into the family. . . . The Islands need a paternal government until the people are taught." And when a portion of

¹⁹⁶ *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1899, p. 161; April 1900, p. 228.

¹⁹⁷ Feb. 18, 1899.

¹⁹⁸ June, July, Nov., Dec., 1898, pp. 426, 563, 281, 421 respectively.

the Catholic press stepped up their criticism of the administration's policy after the Philippine rebels resisted American authority, the editor asserted that he had "no sympathy with the editorial policy of some papers who denounce the administration for certain imperialistic tendencies it is supposed to possess . . . the only way out just now is to quell the insurrection and do it quickly."¹⁹⁹

In its only reference to the question, the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus* agreed that the natives were not prepared for self-government and was gratified that "United States intervention would avert the ruin of the work of the friars."²⁰⁰

The *Catholic World* also printed articles which supported the administration's policy. One Catholic writer from the faculty of Catholic University used this periodical to justify the American policy on legal grounds. After citing legal precedents of former Presidents using force without Congressional sanction, Edmund Briggs, D.C.L., in another article rejected the assertion that the Monroe Doctrine was an obstacle to the new American policy: "It nowhere commits us . . . to remain shivering upon the shores of the Pacific Ocean or to surrender Asiatic trade to Europe."²⁰¹

Thus investigation reveals that most of the leading Catholic publications were opposed to the administration's policy of expansion. In the characteristic American tradition many arguments were brought forth by both the advocates and the opponents of the new policy. And as moral justification seemed to be required for this question, Church opinion was solicited and the Catholic Church recorded this divergent assessment through its various mediums.

Most historians agree that American involvement in hostilities with Spain initiated a new role for the United States in world affairs. After a century of isolation and maturation, the American Republic, having grown in population, conquered its own wilderness and found new areas to conquer. The conflict with Spain resulted in the transfer of former Spanish possessions to the United

¹⁹⁹ Jan. 1899, p. 571; Sept. 1899, p. 857.

²⁰⁰ Sept. 1898, p. 819.

²⁰¹ July 1899, pp. 544-548; Jan. 1899, pp. 551-555.

States and extended American interests into the Pacific and the Far East.

In the debate which enveloped Americans so passionately the Catholic Church showed an awareness of the grave significance the imperialist issue was to have for the future of the Republic. While evincing only a casual interest in the question prior to the destruction of the *Maine*, it paid more attention to international affairs after this event. From February 1898 to the outbreak of the war, Church sentiment was decidedly in the interest of peace and moderation while waiting for the decision the administration was eventually to make. This moderating influence of the Church during a fateful period was undoubtedly assessed by the McKinley administration and may have been partially responsible for the President's early reluctance to lead the nation into war. In order to place itself above suspicion of lack of patriotism, however, the Church carefully pointed out that although it had judiciously asked for a peaceful resolution of the differences between the countries concerned, it would abide by the decisions arrived at by constituted authority.

When war was finally declared the Church extended its support to the American cause. Although a minority within the Church had misgivings as to whether the United States' position justified a recourse to arms, the greater percentage extended blessings to American efforts and interpreted American intervention as an act designed primarily to secure justice in the name of humanity. Even those elements within the Church which remained critical of the war seldom attributed imperialistic designs to the American intervention but based their misgivings on other arguments.

After the war was over and after it had become more evident that the United States would retain the Spanish possessions, Catholics were divided in opinion. Statements of the Catholic press and of leading churchmen indicate that the larger part of the Catholic organization enrolled in the anti-imperialist camp. The highest officials of the Church embraced the expansionist cause for a variety of motives and were capable of exercising a greater influence since they were consulted by the President when he proceeded to assess public sentiment.

Just as the issue of imperialism affected the nation in unforeseen

and portentous ways, it also had a significance and importance for the American Church as well. For some time prior to 1898 issues and events occurring in the Catholic organization in the United States aroused a considerable amount of suspicion among European prelates. Some Catholic officials believed that perhaps American Catholicism had been making too many concessions to the unique American environment, concessions which might estrange the American Church from its international character. Their arguments eventually were carried to His Holiness and shortly after the conclusion of hostilities Pope Leo XIII communicated with the American hierarchy on this matter. The imperialist issue undoubtedly hastened this papal pronouncement which essentially questioned the American Church's orthodoxy for the first time in its history.

Although the single issue of imperialism in itself did not bring the Papal rebuke to the American hierarchy, it undoubtedly influenced Rome and encouraged Leo XIII to write his letter, *Testem Benevolentiae*,²⁰² on January 22, 1899. Because a group within the American hierarchy acknowledged that the American free environment was unique and required appropriate adjustments to insure the progress of Catholicism, American Church efforts were frequently resisted by conservative European prelates who attributed dangerous tendencies to American Catholicism. And when the imperialist issue heightened a strong nationalist spirit within the American Church, this development undoubtedly encouraged the pope to make an official pronouncement.²⁰³

Although the papal document on Americanism was a temporary

²⁰² For the text of the letter, see John Tracy Ellis, ed., *Documents of American Catholic History* (Milwaukee, 1956), pp. 553-562.

²⁰³ This spirit also affected some American seminarians at the North American College in Rome. In a letter to Denis O'Connell, the rector of Catholic University of America, William O'Connell, rector of the North American College in Rome indicated how the war had affected some students: "Our students, some few of them, were making trouble and causing discord in Propaganda [college classrooms] by a too obnoxious flaunting of their national sentiment which, in a school composed of men of every nation and every shade of opinion was certain to result in grave disorder." After indicating that he had to reprove their conduct he added that their display was "scarcely the part of a minister of God, the God of peace, to make too open a show of the love of war . . . that their duty would be to put out the fire of hatred, not to kindle it or fan it, once kindled." Wayman, *Cardinal O'Connell*, p. 111.

setback for a portion of the American hierarchy, the estimates which some churchmen made of the events of 1898 were to prove correct. Archbishop Ireland concluded that the war with Spain would make the United States a world power and that this development would undoubtedly influence the position of the American Church in its relation with Rome. When the war broke out the American Church, although quite sizable in population and organization, was still considered missionary territory and subject to the jurisdiction of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*. With the emergence of the United States as a world power and with the commensurate increase in the Catholic population in the United States, Rome acknowledged the significance and importance of American Catholicism. On June 29, 1908, Pope Pius X issued the apostolic constitution *Sapienti Consilio* which affirmed that the Church in the United States was removed from the jurisdiction of the *Propaganda* and placed on a basis of equality with the ancient churches of Italy, France, and Germany. As the war brought to maturity the American Republic, so the announcement of 1908 recognized the maturity of the American Church.

THE MEMOIRS OF FATHER
JOHN ANTHONY GRASSI, S.J.

Edited by

ARTHUR J. ARRIERI, S.J.*

WHEN Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773 there were slightly more than twenty Jesuits laboring in the missions of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Over the years they were joined by many ex-Jesuits coming from Europe, one of whom was John Carroll, later first bishop of Baltimore. These priests continued to work and pray with the hope that the Society would once more be restored, and for this purpose they formed a corporation to preserve the houses and property of the old Society. In addition, John Carroll founded Georgetown College in 1789, which one day was also to be entrusted to the Jesuits.

At length, news reached Maryland that the English ex-Jesuits had been allowed to join the canonically approved Society of Jesus in White Russia. Bishop Carroll, on May 25, 1803, wrote to the Father General asking that the same favor be granted to the American ex-Jesuits. A year later, Father Gruber's reply arrived from Russia. He explained that the power to accept Jesuits outside of Russia rested on the *viva voce* consent of Pius VII, a fact that had been amply attested to by Cardinal Consalvi, the Secretary of State. Gruber then gave instructions as to the method of reception and finally asked and authorized Bishop Carroll to appoint a superior and a novice-master. The bishop chose Father Robert Molyneux as the first superior, and in 1806 a novitiate was opened at Georgetown College. During the following four or five years, Father Brzozowski, the successor of Gruber, sent some priests from Russia to help in the work of the mission. One of the more outstanding priests to come to Maryland was John Grassi, who arrived in 1810.

Fr. Grassi's seven years in America were as eventful as the rest of his very varied life. Born at Bergamo, John Anthony Grassi entered the Jesuit novitiate at Colorno in 1799 at the

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age of twenty-four. He had been accepted during one of the brief periods of partial restoration of the Society and was fortunate in having for his novice-master, Saint Joseph Pignatelli. When still a novice he was requested to go to White Russia where the Society was never officially suppressed. There he completed his training and was ordained to the priesthood. The young Grassi was distinguished for his knowledge of natural science and his administrative ability. In 1804 he was named rector of the College of Nobles at Polotsk. In the following year, however, the general, Father Gruber at St. Petersburg, decided to send Grassi together with Father Norbert Korsack and Brother John Sturmer to China, in response to the request of Father Louis Poirot, a Frenchman, who was alone carrying on the work begun by Father Ricci at the Court of Peking.

Clad in Russian furs and with three horse-drawn sleds, the little party set out from St. Petersburg on February 2, 1805. With the greatest difficulties, they traveled through Finland, Sweden, and Denmark. From Copenhagen they sailed to London, where they hoped to find passage on one of the ships of the East India Company; but owing either to bigotry or business policy they were refused. In view of the situation Gruber advised that they go to Lisbon, where they might sail for Canton or Macao. They landed at the Portuguese capital on September 28, 1805. Then followed two years of waiting, profitably employed, nevertheless, in the study of astronomy and mathematics at the University of Coimbra. Finally, the general, seeing no likelihood of the missionaries reaching China, directed them to go to Stonyhurst. In 1807 they arrived in England, and for the next three years, they taught and studied at the college. Eventually it was decided to send Father Grassi to America.

Landing in Baltimore on October 26, 1810, Grassi proceeded to Georgetown College where he became professor of mathematics, surveying, and science. Two years later, the trustees appointed him president of the college, and in August of the same year Father Brzozowski made him superior of the Maryland Mission.

For the following five years, Grassi did much to improve conditions of the mission. Georgetown College had visibly declined under former presidents because of their lack of scholastic training

and administrative ability. As president, Grassi succeeded in winning academic prestige for the college and obtained in 1814 a charter constituting it an independent university. The number of students also increased despite the competition offered by the Sulpician College at Baltimore and Father Anthony Kohlmann's New York Literary Institution, which was eventually closed. As Jesuit superior, Grassi strove to establish a permanent novitiate at Whitemarsh. Hitherto the novices had been housed, and rather poorly trained, first at Georgetown (1806), then at St. Inigo's (1812), and eventually at Frederick (1913). To obtain the house and property at Whitemarsh, however, Grassi had to fight the resentment of some secular clergy who looked upon the Jesuit as a Russian foreigner. After much delay the novitiate opened in 1814, and Father Kohlmann returned from New York to assume the duties of novice-master.

The office of superior required extreme tact and diplomacy, and it is to Grassi's credit that, in spite of misunderstandings, he always maintained cordial relations with Archbishop John Carroll. The archbishop believed that until the Society was canonically reestablished, he could not ordain its members *sub titulo pauper-tatis*. Then, too, there were conflicts over appointments and jurisdiction; frequently the desires of the Jesuit superior ran contrary to the wishes of the archbishop. Once the Society was restored, however, Grassi was able to work out a suitable *modus vivendi* with Archbishop Carroll's successor, Leonard Neale. The agreement stipulated that the Jesuits were to be entrusted with definite mission districts in which they alone were to work and perform their priestly duties.

Archbishop Neale decided to send Father Grassi to Rome in 1817. Neale's action in the so-called "Charleston Schism" had been so misrepresented in Rome that the Congregation of Propaganda ordered the archbishop to reinstate in the ministry men who the latter knew would harm the cause of religion. Neale desired that Grassi explain the actual situation to superiors at Rome. Before Grassi left, his friend, the archbishop, died. Nonetheless, his successor, Ambrose Maréchal thought it advisable that Grassi still go to Rome and exonerate the name of Neale. This Grassi did, but owing to ill health he was unable to return to America.

Consequently, at the age of forty-three, he began to fulfill a series of executive positions in the Society. He was assistant to the provincial of Italy, rector of the College of Nobles in Turin, rector of the College of St. Sebastian at Naples, and spiritual advisor to the Queen of Sardinia. He died as assistant to the General in 1849.

When Father Grassi arrived in Rome in 1817, the great ignorance of the conditions of the Church in America prompted him to write in 1818, his *Notizie Diverse* or *Some Observations on the Present Conditions in the United States*. This account gives a brief sketch of the dioceses of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Bardstown, and Baltimore, and lists the various religious orders laboring among Catholics and Protestants. Even though the *Notizie* and the "Memorie" deal with the same period of history and naturally overlap in several minor details, the "Memorie" is largely a Jesuit document relating the various crises that confronted the Society of Jesus in America, especially during the years 1810-1817. It was at the request of the General, Father John Roothaan, that, in 1836, Grassi wrote the "Memorie sulla Compagnia di Gesu ristabilita negli Stati Uniti dell' America Settentrionale dal 1810 al 1817." When completed, the account, written at Naples, was sent to the General with the following note:

Most Reverend Father in Jesus Christ, P.C.

These few words accompany the request Your Reverence made for my reminiscences of the state in which I found the Church in America in 1810 and how I left it in 1817. I have not intended to write a work of history in the true sense of the word, but rather I wish that these memoirs might be used for history in so far as they will be thought to be for the greater glory of God.

I hope I have been of some help to your Reverence. . . .
Closing with your blessing, I remain,

Devotedly yours in Christ Jesus,
J. A. Grassi, S.J.

The "Memorie," which comprises 97 pages of Italian script, is still preserved in the Jesuit General Archives, Rome, and offers a lasting tribute to Grassi's accomplishments and those of his confreres.

In editing the "Memorie," section titles have been included together with additional information in footnotes and within brackets. Very little has been omitted from the corpus of the "Memorie," except for eleven instances where repetitious facts of two or three sentences tended to destroy unity. Also excluded are seven pages of notes, pious in nature and of little historical pertinence, which were appended by Father Grassi. Finally, a word of thanks is due to the Reverend Santo J. Catalano, S.J., whose advice and patient assistance in translating the document from the Italian are gratefully appreciated.

MEMOIRS ON THE REESTABLISHED SOCIETY OF JESUS IN THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA FROM 1810 to 1817

By

JOHN ANTHONY GRASSI, S.J.

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

BEFORE narrating the condition of the Catholic Religion and the Society of Jesus in the United States of America in 1810, I believe it worthwhile to give some historical background concerning the first Jesuits who settled in this immense region.

In the year 1633, no fewer than two hundred Catholic families were constantly being persecuted in England. They were barbarously treated in their own Fatherland by their own fellow-citizens and even by their own parents for no other reason than that of professing the Catholic Religion. Thus they resolved to seek asylum in the still savage regions of North America which belonged to England. Under the leadership of Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, a group of colonists obtained the right to settle in the Province of Maryland, a colony which was to be exclusively for Catholics. The Maryland Catholics, however, had to suffer a great deal from the colonists of Virginia—for it was to Virginia that the English Government exiled all undesirables. These were nearly all Protestants, and they were very bitter toward the very name of Roman Catholic. In the course of time, some of these Protestants were granted permission to settle in Maryland, but the good Catholics soon regretted their liberality because these Protestants made a great deal of trouble for their Catholic benefactors.

The first Catholic settlers were accompanied to the New World by some Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Their superior was Fr. [Andrew] White, an Englishman.¹ In the division of land

¹ Andrew White was fifty-five when he landed with the settlers to say the first Mass in Maryland on March 25, 1634. For eleven years he lived and labored among the Indians, who loved and trusted him. His work in Maryland ended when the Virginians invaded the colony in 1645. He was sent back to England in chains, imprisoned, tried, and banished for being a priest. Unable to return to Maryland, he slipped back into England where for another ten years he worked for the conversion of his countrymen. He died in London on December 27, 1656. R. J. Purcell, "Andrew White," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), XX, 87-88.

which was made on disembarking, a suitable portion was given to the Jesuits. Since that time this mission continued to belong to the English Province and was under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of London. But because of the great distance from any bishop, the Holy See had given extraordinary faculties to the Jesuit missionaries and at certain times even the authority to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to the faithful. In the sacristy of the residence at St. Thomas near Port Tobacco I saw, in 1812, a record of such a permission. Every missionary also had the privilege of celebrating two Masses on Holy Days of obligation in far distant localities.

This new land was soon filled with a great number of Negro slaves who were transported from Africa and sold in America to be employed particularly in agriculture. These poor people, instructed in the Catholic Religion and baptized, were always a source of great joy and consolation to the missionaries. Because of their faithful service, and their respect for the property of others, these slaves acquired such a good reputation even among the Protestants that the Protestants always preferred a Catholic slave and were willing to pay a higher price to obtain one.

As the population and commerce grew, the conveniences of life increased and also the danger of relaxing religious discipline among the missionaries. The provincials of the Society devised different means for preventing any abuses. One of these was that religious should return to Europe every four or five years for a definite period of time. There they would live in a well disciplined house and could devote themselves to recollection, prayer, and the practices of piety in order that once they were spiritually renewed and invigorated they might return to labor with new zeal in their trans-Atlantic missions.

Since the number of Catholics was increasing and they were moving to new centers of commerce, the Jesuits had to found new missions and residences. The foundation in Philadelphia merits first consideration. This new city was settled, one can say, entirely by Quakers. But it was well known that business opportunities attracted many Catholics there. The Jesuits realized the importance of that city and also knew the need for caution, especially at the beginning, because of the strong prejudices of the Quakers

against Catholics. For that reason one of our missionaries started out for Philadelphia with his clothes cut in Quaker style. He also observed the Quaker custom of not removing one's hat to greet another. Arriving in Philadelphia, he began to seek some Catholic family, and by chance he met a good Catholic lady. As she thought she was speaking with a Quaker, she did not at once make a clear and open profession of her Catholic religion. The Jesuit asked her if there ever had been a Catholic priest in Philadelphia. She answered that there were some in Maryland. Then the priest replied, "I am one of them, and I have come to console Catholics here and to see if we can open a Catholic Church in this city." The good lady, beside herself with joy, could not refrain from calling other Catholics of the neighborhood, all of whom the priest cautioned not to attract unnecessary attention. They all thanked him for his charity towards them, and showed themselves most ready to contribute to the building of a church as in fact was done [1730]. It is St. Joseph's Church adjoining which is a residence for three or four missionaries. Moreover, as many emigrant Catholic families from Germany later settled in Pennsylvania, it became necessary to call some of our Fathers who knew the language in order to assist in the spiritual work. This gave rise to the establishment of the missions of Lancaster and Conewago where the memory of Fr. Pellentz² is still held in benediction because of the many years he labored there.

In this way the Jesuits continued all alone to minister to the spiritual needs of the Catholics until the memorable time of the suppression of the Society which took place in 1773. The decree of suppression was communicated to the missionaries by the Vicar Apostolic of London. They obeyed, reverently submitting themselves to the disposal of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. As secular priests they continued as before to occupy the same residences and to attend to their apostolic ministries; and when the number of ex-Jesuits decreased, other priests were employed who had never belonged to the Society of Jesus. . . .

² James Pellentz, born near Trèves in 1727, entered the Society at an early age and went to the Maryland Missions in 1757. There he worked until his death, at about the time of the suppression. Two of his letters to John Carroll can be found in *Woodstock Letters*, XV (1886), 190-192.

II. ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGION

A few years later the American Revolution broke out in 1776, and the independence of the United States was immediately declared and later recognized. Following this, the new federal constitution was written. It contains the following article worthy of note: "Congress should make no law with regard to the establishment of religion whether it be to prohibit its free exercise or to restrict the freedom of speech or writing, or to restrict the right that the citizens have of assembling peacefully in order to request the Government to adjust their grievances."³ Therefore in virtue of this fundamental law, there is no religion which may be called the religion of the state, but any religion or sect is admissible and equally protected in the United States, provided, however, that its tenets and the exercise of that sect do not disturb the legally established civil order; or it may be better to say that the government does not meddle at all in what regards religion. In this way the truth can freely be explained and proved in America as it often enough is. The same thing only too often happens with regard to error; but at least the truth is not hindered by many obstacles as certain governments do—especially those which claim to be Catholic, most Christian and most faithful defenders of the Faith.

Another point to be noted in regard to religion is that the law does not recognize any church as being of itself capable of having real estate, and allows only so much land as is necessary for the building of a church and a little ground for a cemetery. Hence it is understood that if any real estate is left for the benefit of some church or a religious body, it can be left only in the name of some individual, as to heirs who act as trustees. The church property can never enjoy the protection of the laws if it does not obtain from the government a deed whereby the church becomes incorporated, and trustees are assigned for the administration of funds. Since this was the understanding of the English laws regarding the possessions belonging to Catholic missionaries, the Jesuits

³ The original article reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

had continued in the possession of their property by transmitting it to younger Jesuits by means of legal wills. But experience made them realize that such a method of receiving property was subject to serious inconveniences. In fact, if some missionary died intestate, his relatives by virtue of the laws generally became the heirs of all he possessed. Hence they appropriated even that which belonged to the Church. In this manner, possession of a residence in Philadelphia which had belonged to the Society was lost. Therefore, in order to prevent other such losses, the ex-Jesuits took advantage of the new constitution. They presented a petition to the legislative assembly of Maryland, requesting that the properties left to them for the use of religion should be incorporated under the title of "The Select Body of the Catholic Clergy of Maryland," whose members would be authorized by law to choose from their number the administrators of these properties, and to make certain regulations which would serve as a norm for their future actions. All this was fully granted by the government of Maryland; and in the first meeting of this corporation, it was decreed that should the Society of Jesus be reestablished, the administrators would be obliged to restore those properties which formerly belonged to the same Society. This could be done by admitting Jesuits as members of the corporation rather than priests who had not been members of the Society, but all had to be American citizens. However, as the hoped for restoration of the Society was delayed and as the number of ex-Jesuits decreased because of death, other ecclesiastics were substituted for them.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF GEORGETOWN

As the number of Catholics in the United States increased, the missionaries who were incorporated earnestly requested the Holy See to appoint a bishop for Baltimore, the principal city of Maryland. The name of John Carroll was proposed for that office and Leonard Neale as his coadjutor, both of them natives of the state and both ex-Jesuits. Pope Pius VI graciously consented to this request and in the year 1790, Monsignor Carroll was consecrated Bishop of Baltimore in England by Bishop Walmesley.⁴ The

⁴ Charles Walmesley (1722-1797) was then Bishop of Rama. The consecration of John Carroll, the first bishop of the United States, took place

Ecclesiastical Corporation of Maryland granted a pension to the new bishop, but with a declaration of the same bishop that such a pension was being granted to him without his having any right to it as bishop since the benefices from which it was derived did not in any way belong to him.

Another important undertaking also occupied the Corporation, namely, the erection of a college for the education of Catholic youth. Until then, the more wealthy sent their sons to the colleges of the Society of Jesus at Bruges, St. Omer's, and Liège. Some of the students had also been admitted into the Jesuit novitiate.

The place selected for the college was the village of Georgetown, which is now part of the growing city of Washington. The village is situated on a pleasant hill from which can be seen the federal city and the stately Potomac River. There a house was built which scarcely deserved the name of college, and very soon it was found to be inadequate for the purpose. It was then decided to erect near the college a building capable of housing at least two hundred boarders. Finally, in order to procure the necessary funds to complete such a building, a large plantation was sold. The college turned out to be a very beautiful building for which, moreover, a better location could not have been desirable. The air is very good and the water is also excellent. The courtyard of the college is not enclosed by walls but by pickets fashioned like a palisade.

The college became subject to various misfortunes according to the circumstances of time and the ideas of those who governed it. The more serious difficulties occurred when the Sulpician, Abbé Dubourg, was rector.⁵ He was blunt in conversation and unskilled in managing finances, with the result that the college very soon

in Lulworth Castle, the private estate of a devout Catholic, Thomas Weld. G. R. Hudleston, "Charles Walmesley," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV (1912), 539-540.

⁵ Louis Dubourg was the third president of Georgetown during the years 1796-99. Born on the Island of Santo Domingo in 1766, Dubourg studied at Paris and came to the United States as a priest in 1794. After his stay at Georgetown, he became first superior of St. Mary's College in Baltimore. Shortly afterwards he was named second Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas. It was at this time that he founded St. Louis Latin Academy which developed into the present St. Louis University. Dubourg resigned his see in 1826 and returned to France. He was named Bishop of Montauban and then Archbishop of Besançon, where he died in 1833. C. Chambon, "Louis Dubourg," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, V (1909), 178-179.

was more than twenty thousand dollars in debt. This was partly due to the fact that he had accepted students without requiring that the boys have guardians in the United States who would be responsible for them, as was stipulated in the prospectus. A large number of students were natives of the French Islands of Guadeloupe and St. Domingo, and because of the war⁶ they were cut off from any means of paying for their room and board. Since it was also impossible to send the boys home, it was necessary to keep and support them. In view of the situation, the Corporation asked Monsignor Dubourg for his resignation. Disappointed by his dismissal, Dubourg decided to open a college in Baltimore which would be more liberal than that of Georgetown. It was to be for Catholics and non-Catholics, and permission was to be granted to the non-Catholics to leave the grounds on holidays to attend services in their own churches and to go home for dinner. In vain did the other Sulpicians try to oppose the idea with the argument that their congregation was founded to form ecclesiastical seminarians and not colleges for secular youth. But Monsignor Dubourg was inflexible, and he opened the college, receiving financial help from lotteries. Nonetheless, despite all his efforts, he contracted many enormous debts. He managed to escape all embarrassment by his departure for New Orleans to assume the episcopal see to which he had been nominated. Later he resigned the See of New Orleans and subsequently was the Bishop of Montauban and afterwards Archbishop of Besançon, where he died.

To take Dubourg's place, Leonard Neale, the coadjutor of Bishop Carroll was named rector.⁷ In order to pay the debts, he

⁶ This conflict, an outcome of the famous "XYZ Affair", was an unofficial war between the United States and France. Fighting was localized to the area of the West Indies, and in the two and one-half years of undeclared hostilities (1798-1800) the Americans, with only minor losses, captured over 80 French merchantmen. It was through the efforts and negotiations of President Adams, however, that the situation did not develop into a full scale war.

⁷ Leonard Neale was born in Maryland in 1747. Like his brothers Charles, and Francis, Leonard Neale made his classical studies at St. Omer's and his studies for the priesthood at Liège where he was ordained. He was doing priestly work in England at the time of the suppression and volunteered for the Mission of Demarara in British Guiana where he labored for four years until his health failed. He came to Maryland in 1783 and was engaged in the missions of Southern Maryland and was then

leaned perhaps a little too much to the side of economy, but very soon the sum was diminished. In the course of time, the ex-Jesuit, Fr. Molyneux, an Englishman of great trust was reappointed rector of the college.⁸ Owing to his advanced age, however, he was unable to carry out the necessary duties that such a position demanded. Two years later, he was succeeded by Fr. [William] Matthews, a novice of the Society, which he afterwards did not enter.⁹ Since he engaged in missionary work in Washington, an occupation not compatible with that of being rector of a college, he was very shortly relieved by Father Francis Neale.¹⁰

IV. REUNION WITH THE SOCIETY IN WHITE RUSSIA

Before going any further we ought to mention how the ex-Jesuits in America joined the remnant Society which survived in White Russia and which later spread throughout the Russian Empire by decree of Pope Pius VII, August 11, 1801.¹¹

The English ex-Jesuits attached to Stonyhurst College were received into the Society by a special privilege, granted in 1803

appointed president of Georgetown in 1799. John Carroll consecrated Neale a Bishop in 1800 and Neale succeeded Carroll at the time of the latter's death in 1815. Neale died two years later at the age of seventy. L. Kelly, *History of Holy Trinity Parish* (Baltimore, 1945), pp. 56-57.

⁸ Robert Molyneux came to America in 1776. He had been professor of theology in the Liège Seminary, and Bishop Carroll had been one of his students. When the Maryland Mission was reestablished in 1805 and united to the Society in White Russia, the father general authorized Bishop Carroll to name one of the former Jesuits as first superior. Carroll chose Molyneux, who at the same time, 1806, assumed the presidency of the college. Molyneux had also been president from 1793 to 1796 prior to Dubourg's term of office. Molyneux died in Maryland in 1808. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁹ Matthews was the first native of the country to be raised to the priesthood in the diocese of Baltimore. Born in Charles County, Maryland (1770), he made his ecclesiastical studies at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, and was ordained by Bishop Carroll in 1800. In 1796 and 1797 he was professor of rhetoric in the college, and tradition has it that he first greeted George Washington on the latter's visit to the College. In later years he became pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, and served at a very difficult time as vicar apostolic and administrator of Philadelphia. He was nephew of the Fathers Neale. John M. Daley, *Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years* (Washington, 1957), p. 154.

¹⁰ Francis Neale was ordained at Liège in 1778 and returned to Maryland in 1788. While he was president of Georgetown he was also master of novices, although he was only a novice himself. Kelly, *Holy Trinity*, p. 13.

¹¹ This was not a formal decree but only the *viva voce* consent of the Pope.

by the Holy See, which allowed persons living outside Russia to join the Society. For the most part all returned to the Society, and a novitiate was opened at Hodder House. Fr. Plowden¹² wrote a thorough account of all these happenings to Archbishop Carroll in America. The American ex-Jesuits soon imitated the example of their former confreres. Archbishop Carroll took up the matter with Fr. General [Gruber], and convinced him of the necessity of sending Jesuits to America because the needs of the missions were desperate. Once everything was settled with Fr. General, a novitiate was started in America, and located at Georgetown College. Fr. Molyneux was chosen as superior of the mission, and Fr. Francis Neale was appointed master of novices. In the year 1807 all the ex-Jesuits who were willing either renewed or made their solemn profession at the hands of Archbishop Carroll, who was duly authorized by Fr. Brzozowski, the successor of Fr. Gruber.

In the meantime, Fr. Brzozowski, anxious to satisfy the urgent wishes of the Archbishop of Baltimore, had sent some priests to America. Among the various Jesuits who had come to Georgetown from Russia, many had been received into the Society although they had worn the habits of other orders. In fact, there was an ex-Capuchin, Fr. Anthony Kohlmann;¹³ an ex-Franciscan Friar, his brother, Fr. Paul [Kohlmann];¹⁴ an

¹² Charles Plowden (1743-1821), an English Jesuit who was a close friend of John Carroll. When the novitiate opened at Hodder House, Plowden was appointed master of novices (1803). In 1817 he became provincial and was simultaneously rector of Stonyhurst. Martin Harney, *The Jesuits in History* (New York, 1941), p. 359.

¹³ Anthony Kohlmann (1771-1836) entered the Society in Russia in 1805 and came to America a year later. He was appointed socius to the master of novices, Francis Neale. In 1808 he was assisting also at St. Mary's, Alexandria, when Archbishop Carroll sent him to administer the Diocese of New York until a successor should be named to Bishop Concanen, who died at Naples before he could take up his episcopal see. Kohlmann erected the first Cathedral of St. Patrick and established the New York Literary Institution, a college for boys, on the site of the present cathedral. It was his famous lawsuit which established the precedent of permitting priests to withhold information learned in confession from the civil courts. Kohlmann returned to Maryland in 1815 and was made master of novices. In 1817 he became superior of the entire mission and also president of Georgetown. He founded Gonzaga College in 1821 and four years later he went to Rome to teach theology at the Roman College. L. Kelly, *Holy Trinity*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁴ Paul Kohlmann entered the Society, July 12, 1814, and four years later

ex-Conventual, Fr. Francis Malevé; an ex-Augustinian, or Conventual, Fr. John Henry;¹⁵ an ex-Premonstratentian, Fr. Maximilian Rantzau;¹⁶ an ex-Revolutionist, Fr. Malou.¹⁷ Our Father General, seeing so many religious helpless in the world [during the French Revolution], thought it an act of charity to receive them into the Society which was beginning to spread and needed more members. Since this was strictly forbidden by the Institute, he wrote to Fr. Pignatelli, then in Rome and Superior of Ours, desiring him to petition the pope for a dispensation. If ever the religious and blind obedience of that servant of God shone forth transparently, it was certainly on that occasion when, against his own decided opinion that it was not expedient to depart in any title or iota from what St. Ignatius prescribed, he bowed his head, obeyed, and obtained the pontifical dispensation to admit into the Society persons who had been in other religious orders.

V. FATHER ANTHONY KOHLMANN

The Reverend Anthony Kohlmann had just recently come from the novitiate at Dünaburg [Russia], and since he was highly proficient in German, French, and English, he was appointed socius to the master of novices [Francis Neale]. As socius, he transformed the house into a true novitiate of the Society by introducing the accustomed order of time for exhortations, for the practices of piety, and for the other exercises usual with our novices. Among some of the older ex-Jesuits, however, there arose a difference of opinion concerning the formation of the novices entrusted to Fr. Kohlmann. It was known that this priest had been admitted into the Society with a dispensation from the

was superior of Whitemarsh. "Catalogue of the Maryland Mission for 1818-1819," *Woodstock Letters*, XV (1886), 188-189.

¹⁵ Francis Malevé entered the Society in 1804 and came to America in 1806, the same year as John Henry. Both labored at Frederick and other mission stations. Daley, *Georgetown*, pp. 130-131.

¹⁶ Rantzau entered the Society in 1803 and upon his arrival in Maryland taught theology at Georgetown. He later worked in the Diocese of New York. "Catalogue of the Maryland Mission for 1818-1819," pp. 188-189.

¹⁷ Peter Malou had been a Belgian statesman in the war of independence with Austria before his entrance into the Society in 1805. His labors in America were concentrated in New York where he was rector of St. Peter's Church. Thomas Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America* (New York, 1910), I, 866.

Holy See because he had worn the habit of the Capuchins, even though it was for a very short time. He did this, as has been said, not because he felt drawn to them, but rather because he wished to overcome a certain repugnance which he felt toward that order. Nonetheless, some thought that the method in which he attempted to train our novices in the practice of bodily mortifications was very similar to that of the Capuchins. . . .

All hostility to Fr. Kohlmann should have disappeared in the light of his excellent work as a missionary. In fact, when preaching in Georgetown, he won the hearts of the people who avidly listened to his words of eternal life. Also, about seven miles from Georgetown, a Catholic church was opened in Alexandria, a city which has several different sects. Each sect has its own church but indifferentism is so prevalent that these churches are almost completely deserted. As soon as Fr. Kohlmann began preaching in Alexandria the Catholics were so strongly drawn to the new priest that at the mere mention of some religious or material need for the Church, all eagerly and gladly contributed. It was in this way that a large acreage of land was purchased for a Catholic cemetery. Because of the many improvements which Fr. Kohlmann undertook, he was looked upon as the founder of that mission. His manifestation of faith and devotion aroused the Catholics from their lethargy and also the Protestants from the indifferentism in which they had indulged. Moreover, the Protestant ministers, aware of the extraordinary abilities of Fr. Kohlmann, who influenced people by his deeds and words, were greatly alarmed that their own followers would decrease in number. . . .

It was at this time that Archbishop Carroll requested of Fr. Molyneux, the Superior of Ours, that Fr. Kohlmann should become the vicar general of Bishop Concanen, an Irish Dominican, who had already been consecrated bishop in Rome, and that Fr. Kohlmann should go and put the Churches in order in the diocese [New York]. Bishop Concanen was prevented from coming to his episcopal see because of the upheaval brought about by the war.¹⁸ Archbishop Carroll also asked Fr. Molyneux to send Fr.

¹⁸ Bishop Concanen never reached New York. He was detained in Naples by the French authorities who were then in possession of the city.

Benedict Fenwick as a companion with Fr. Kohlmann and that Fr. Molyneux lend them ten thousand dollars for buying a house and for opening a boarding school in which future novices and scholastics could act as teachers and prefects. Fr. Kohlmann was a man of great capabilities. He realized that he could make a profit of several thousand dollars from the boarding school and was thus confident that he would be able to pay the capital within three years. . . .

When they arrived in New York, it is unimaginable how much the Catholics—most of whom were Irish—esteemed and respected Frs. Kohlmann and Fenwick. Fr. Kohlmann's noble manner, his cordiality and generosity won for him and his companion the admiration of the Catholics. He had only to suggest some project for God's greater glory, for instance, the building of a school for the poor, the procuring of better vestments for the Church, and other such works, and he found the people very quick to cooperate. Hence it was not difficult for him to borrow ten thousand dollars without any security, and with this he bought a house and opened a boarding school. This school [The New York Literary Institution] had many benefactors even among the non-Catholics.¹⁹

Fr. Kohlmann's zeal also prompted him to open a convent-school for girls. He obtained from Ireland three Ursuline Nuns by describing to them the wonderful harvest they could reap both in the spiritual and temporal life. The three religious came from Cork accompanied by a priest. The new school soon had a large number of girls and was succeeding quite well to everyone's satisfaction. Yet, during the two years, not one of the American girls sought entrance into the religious life. This was very displeasing to the sisters, and despite all Fr. Kohlmann's efforts, they returned home to Ireland.

Another enterprise was the building of [St. Patrick's] Cathedral. In New York there was only one Catholic church. As the number of the faithful increased beyond all measure on account

Owing to weak health he suffered a relapse and died on June 19, 1810. Daley, *Georgetown*, p. 134.

¹⁹ Fr. Benedict Fenwick, of an old Maryland family, alumnus of Georgetown, and later administrator of Charleston and Bishop of Boston, was in charge of the school. The school prospered, but at the decision of superiors it was closed in 1813. In 1814 the building was sold to the Trappists who had recently come to America. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181.

of the very large influx of Irish immigrants, Fr. Kohlmann planned to build a large church which would serve as a cathedral for the future bishop. With contributions and loans from the good Catholics, he was able to make a contract with the builders, and when the church opened in 1817 he received thirty-six thousand dollars from the sale of pews to the parishioners.

Here I must not omit an event which distinguished the residence of Fr. Kohlmann in New York. Thé robbery of a large sum of money was reported to the New York police in order that they might apprehend the thief. The thief, meanwhile, regretting his misdeed, went to confess it to Fr. Kohlmann and gave to the confessor the money which he had stolen, so that the priest might make restitution to the owner. This was quickly done, and once the person regained his money, he notified the police. The non-Catholic judge, informed that Fr. Kohlmann had restored the money, immediately summoned the priest and demanded the name of the thief. Fr. Kohlmann replied that since he had acquired this knowledge in the Sacrament of Confession, he could in no way break a seal which the natural law and the Catholic religion oblige to be kept inviolably sacred. The judge responded that the civil law makes no such distinction and requires, under grave penalties, that anyone knowing the perpetrator of some crime must give evidence. Fr. Kohlmann answered that he had the greatest respect for the civil law and that the civil law itself guarantees the free exercise of the Catholic religion, which obliges a confessor to suffer even death rather than violate the secret of the confessional. The judge argued that this was true only for the other religious sects, provided these religious practices did not interfere with the common good. To this Fr. Kohlmann replied that the Catholic religion, far from disturbing civil order, contributed to it in a most marvelous way, since the Church obliges everyone to restore what belongs to another. As they were not able to come to any agreement, there followed a very important and serious civil suit. On the day appointed, Fr. Kohlmann, accompanied by Catholic and non-Catholic lawyers, appeared before the supreme court of the city. The case opened by asking Fr. Kohlmann the reasons why he thought himself not obliged to divulge the name of the thief, and these were briefly explained. Then the lawyers

began the defence. They pleaded their case most persuasively and with such eloquence that the civil prosecutor, despite his objections, realized that he could not exact from Fr. Kohlmann any information without an open violation of the laws of the state, which guaranteed the free exercise of religion to every sect, including Catholics. Finally, the day came for the pronouncing of the verdict, and Mr. Clinton, the civil prosecutor,²⁰ according to the practice of the English courts made a summation of all that had been said. Then, insisting on the spirit of the natural law, and upon the principles of freedom as they are rightly understood, he concluded that one cannot oblige a Catholic priest to reveal the crimes known only through the medium of the confessional. Therefore Fr. Kohlmann was free of every accusation. The decision won wide acclaim and was recorded that it might serve, in the future, as a norm in deciding similar cases. The exposition of the lawyers and of Mr. Clinton, and the circumstances connected with the trial, were printed in a volume which bore the title: *The Catholick Question in America*.

VI. FATHER GRASSI'S ARRIVAL IN BALTIMORE

Such was the state of the Society in America, when the Reverend John Anthony Grassi arrived there in 1810. At the time when he received the order to go to America, Fr. Grassi was teaching at Stonyhurst College. He received permission to bring with him mathematical and astronomical equipment in order that he might carry on his work in Baltimore. Of interest are some of the details of his voyage taken from his diary:

I left Stonyhurst after a stay of almost three years.²¹ During that time, I acquired a practical knowledge of the methods used by the English Jesuits in educating youth, and I arrived on the 21st of August, 1810, at Liverpool, a port frequented by American ships. As the ship I had chosen for my trip to Baltimore was not yet ready, I made use of the brief wait by visiting some old Jesuit missionaries working in that part of the country. Returning one morning to the dock, I could not find the ship. I was informed

²⁰ De Witt Clinton, the Mayor of New York, presided over the bench of four judges. Francis Curran, "The Jesuit Colony in New York, 1808-1817," *Historical Records and Studies*, XLII (1954), 63-64.

²¹ Grassi frequently changes from the third to the first person.

that it had already set sail. This disturbed me very much because I had already bought my passage and put my trunk aboard. Full of anxiety, I went at once to the captain's quarters and was assured that he was at dinner, and that the ship was waiting in midstream.

Thus on the 31st of August we set sail, steering a course toward the north in such a way that we passed between Ireland and Scotland and saw the very large basalt cliffs. There arose, shortly, the usual equinoctial storms, which are not dangerous in the middle of the great Atlantic Ocean. In October, when the color of the water changed, we realized that we were approaching Newfoundland, which is so famous for its cod fisheries. We took advantage of the calm to fish with hook and line, and in a short time we caught twenty-seven fish and one large turbot.²² Another interesting phenomenon of the voyage is the so called *Gulf Stream*, a great current of water which flows from the coast of Florida towards the northeast. It increases the speed of the ships which go from America to Europe, while it slows them down on the return voyage. The passengers realized that they were in this Gulf Stream when they saw leaves floating on the surface of the water and when they immersed a thermometer into the water, which indicated that the water was warmer than the surrounding atmosphere. Thus one can always detect the presence of this current. On the next day towards evening we sighted land. All, and I especially, were joyful since I had been seasick for the whole voyage across, and to get exercise I split wood for the cook.

At length, on the 21st of October, I landed in the New World and arrived at the city of Baltimore. As I had seen on the ship a sketched plan of the city, I had a grandiose impression of it; but I found the land completely deserted where the map indicated houses should be. I received the same surprise on my arrival at the federal city. If one looks at the plan, it seems to be a vast city; but not even one-eighth of it is built up. Even the capitol, that is, that majestic building in which Congress hold its sessions, appeared forlorn and deserted. I discovered that every city, small town, and suitable tract of land, is well planned out before the

²² A turbot is a European flatfish, often weighing from 30 to 40 pounds.

actual construction so that no matter how much a city grows the symmetry and spaciousness of its streets will always be preserved.

I presented myself to Archbishop Carroll to whom I gave several letters from Ours in England. He received me very cordially, and spoke favorably of Georgetown College, the novitiate, and of the Society. . . . I delayed for some time in Baltimore to recover my trunk, and to pay some visits, as for instance to the Sulpicians who supervise and maintain the seminary. I made the acquaintance of Abbé Bruté, who had quite recently come from France.²³ He introduced me to Abbé Dubourg, the rector of the Sulpician College. When he heard that I was on my way to Georgetown, he became visibly disturbed and spoke of the college in such disparaging terms that I did not know what insurmountable task awaited me. Fortunately, I was heartened by Abbé Nagot, an old Sulpician, the first of his order to come to America.²⁴ He affectionately embraced me and spoke of the Society with respect and devotion. I was invited to attend the consecration of three new bishops: Monsignor Flaget, a Frenchman, as bishop of Bardstown in Kentucky; Monsignor Egan, an Irishman, as bishop of Philadelphia; and Monsignor Cheverus, a Frenchman, as bishop of Boston. I thought it better, however, to hurry to my destination, and leaving Baltimore at five in the morning, I arrived at Georgetown about four in the afternoon on the 26th of October 1810.

VII. THE CONDITION OF THE SOCIETY IN AMERICA

Among the first things suggested to me was to apply for my citizen papers which would be granted after five years' residence. After our exchange of greetings and remarks about the college's beautiful site and view, the conversation turned to the progress of the Society in the country, and in particular of the novitiate and the boarding school. We spoke about these matters for a long time, even for days and weeks following, whenever different

²³ Simon Bruté de Remur was born at Rennes, France, in 1779. He was ordained in 1808 and sailed to the United States in 1810. For some years he taught in the institutions of the Sulpicians and in 1834 was appointed Bishop of Vincennes. Letters of Fr. Grassi to Fr. Bruté during the years 1812 to 1832 can be found in *Mid-America*, XV (1933), 245-265.

²⁴ Charles Nagot, S.S., was the founder of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. See Charles Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, (New York, 1916).

Fathers, who were working in the nearby missions, came to the college. Everyone lamented the loss of Fr. Molyneux [who had died in 1808] and the departure of Fr. Kohlmann [for New York]; for afterwards the administration of the novitiate and the boarding school went from bad to worse. This was inevitable since the novitiate was completely neglected. Fr. Francis Neale, the master, never had seen a regular novitiate, nor had he time to study the Institute, nor time to make the usual exhortations or to explain the rules. He was not completely blameworthy, however, since he was extremely busy with the spiritual affairs of a large congregation at Georgetown and Alexandria. At this time Fr. Neale was also procurator of the Corporation and rector of the college. With all this work, he scarcely had any time for other matters. Even Fr. Kohlmann who was very zealous and understanding had great difficulty in instilling the spirit of the Society into the American youth [when he became master]. In fact, a scholastic, Mr. Quin, without any regard for his vows, had gone tranquilly home and remained there in spite of repeated warnings. His example was soon followed by another, Mr. Hopkins, who, however, returned, did penance, and died at the college. In the course of the year [1811] six novices left: the two Clarkes, Gartland, Rogers, Rossiter, and Britt. One left during his last year of philosophy. He felt he was not called to the religious life, but Fr. Neale encouraged him to stay. At the tonsure ceremony, however, when his name was read out, instead of his answering *Adsum*, he put out his candle and walked out.

The finances of the procurator also concerned us. The Brother who was in charge of the books pointed out to me that without some extraordinary help, it would be impossible to continue. His accounts disclosed that the whole income of the college, including the boarders' fees, amounted to only \$1,224, and this sum had to pay the expenses of 43 persons, while \$100 for each, i.e. \$4,300, would scarcely have sufficed; and, therefore, there was a yearly deficit of more than 3,000. Despite this, because of the extreme need of workers in the Lord's vineyard young Englishmen were accepted who, on their arrival, claimed they wished to be priests. Actually, many of them made use of this pretext to have means of support until they could find some

other way of earning a livelihood. Fr. Neale was not overly disturbed by this situation but entrusted everything to Divine Providence, which did not fail to assist him.

In order to give a more exact idea of the state in which I found the affairs of the Society of Jesus, I must add that the whole country was divided into two political parties: one the Aristocratic, the other the Federalist, which was less hostile to England.²⁵ Each party protested to be the defender of the Constitution, and they would accuse one another of holding precepts which were against those set down by General Washington. The disputants became so quarrelsome, that if a Federalist met an Aristocrat there soon began a bitter argument, which only ended by mutual accord, i.e., each would agree that the other could hold whatever he pleased. Even if persons belonging to the same party were conversing among themselves, the ordinary subject of conversation was the politics of the day, the progress of public affairs, the conduct of the most influential representatives, the Congressional debates and such like matters. These discussions would have been sensible if the United States had been at war with some foreign power. As it was, the country was at peace and their arguments were pointless. They criticized the administration of Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe; and these nonsensical disputes left me highly amused. . . .

This same attitude was prevalent among Ours who were for the most part Federalists. They wasted a great deal of time in reading the gazettes, so much so that Fr. Britt²⁶ said, "*meditationem faciunt super Gazzettas.*" They alienated anyone who was not a Federalist, especially the Irish, a great number of whom had entered the Society. It was impossible for these Irishmen not to look upon England as a tyrant, since the English had treated the poor Catholics of their country so barbarously. . . .

In the meantime a letter came from Fr. General [Brzozowski] expressing his surprise that, not having enough men for one

²⁵ Grassi mistakes the aristocratic or Federalist Party for two separate political bodies. The two political parties existing in America at the time were the Democratic-Republican and the Federalist.

²⁶ Adam Britt entered the Society in 1764. On his arrival in America, in 1805, he was sent to the Church of the Holy Trinity in Philadelphia. He later became superior of the mission station at Conewago, Pennsylvania. Daley, *Georgetown*, p. 130.

college, the archbishop wished to open another [The New York Literary Institution]. The General recommended that we should be very reluctant to make new obligations, and he ordered that we should hold a consultation in the hope of improving conditions at the novitiate and the college.

After the consultation, it was agreed upon to relieve Fr. Francis Neale as master of novices. For the time being, Fr. Epinette was the only Father available to replace him.²⁷ Thus Fr. Neale had the opportunity of giving five days of the Spiritual Exercises to the boarding students who had great need of them. That the number of students might not diminish, the consultors agreed to retain some of the unworthy ones who should have been expelled, and they agreed to reestablish the Sodality or the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Plans were also made to increase the prestige of our teaching at the college.

Fr. Epinette, unwillingly, began his duties as master. He was of French extraction, one of the first Paccanarists in Italy,²⁸ and renowned for his fluency in oriental Languages. He was, however, somewhat eccentric. Convinced as he was that the majority of the novices had been forced to enter, and had been retained because they were Americans, even though they were unfit, he dismissed many of them and the novitiate was nearly empty.

Fr. Francis Neale, meanwhile, gave the Spiritual Exercises to the boarding students, who made great progress, except for a few of the more disreputable who were expelled. The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary was started, and things began to improve. Finally, Fr. Grassi suggested to an ingenious Brother that he construct a simple mechanical display which explained the Copernican theory of the universe with its regulated move-

²⁷ Peter Epinette came to America in 1806, a year after his entrance into the Society. He taught theology at the college and later took Fr. Kohlmann's place as socius to the master of novices when Fr. Kohlmann went to New York. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

²⁸ The Paccanarists, or the Society of the Fathers of the Faith of Jesus, were founded by an Italian cleric, Nicola Paccanari. The aim of this organization, which was approved by Pius VII in 1797, was to prepare the way for the restoration of the Society of Jesus. In 1799 a similar group, the Society of the Most Sacred Heart, which had also been founded to keep alive the Jesuit spirit, joined the Paccanarists. Just prior to the restoration of the Society of Jesus, in 1814, the Paccanarists numbered 110 members, of whom 36 were novices. Harney, *Jesuits*, 357-358.

ments of the planets. Another mechanism simply and clearly explained the yearly and daily motion of the earth, the succession of the seasons, the length of the days, and so forth. Moreover, Fr. Grassi made use of his new mathematical and optical equipment which he had brought from Europe. This created quite a stir among the people of the countryside. He also constructed other devices of wood, since it was cheaper than brass, to explain mechanical and hydraulic principles. All these instruments were on exhibition at the college, and the inhabitants were so interested in them that they invited visitors to see them, because in those days better displays could not be found.

In the following year [1812], the Corporation replaced Fr. Francis Neale with Fr. Grassi as rector of the college. The reluctance of the Corporation to appoint a non-American became evident when the stipulation was added that Fr. Grassi would preside over the college *under the control and supervision* of Fr. Neale. The new president disliked such pettiness, and he finally convinced the Corporation that he should administer his office without any such control except, of course, the regulating norm of the Society.

As rector Fr. Grassi began to repair and paint part of the college, which took on a new look. He had the halls and reception parlors decorated with beautiful prints of buildings. The most attractive was one by Piranesi which Fr. Grassi found by chance in an obscure part of the College.²⁹

Very soon the number of students grew, and as a consequence, the tuition was lowered to make it easier for the less wealthy Catholics to educate their children. This brought a great deal of consolation to both the archbishop and to all of Ours. Later a treatise was written to be recited at the distribution of prizes. The subject was the Copernican theory. The principal arguments, which proved the validity of the system, were simply explained, and were very clearly and interestingly demonstrated by the mechanism mentioned above. This won public admiration beyond all expectation.

²⁹ Giovanni Piranesi (1720-1778) was an accomplished engraver and architect who produced an extraordinary number of works illustrating the architecture and antiquities of Rome. Margot Cutter, "Giovanni Piranesi," *Collier's Encyclopedia*, XVI (1952), 68.

In the meantime, there arrived from Fr. General [Brzozowski] letters appointing Fr. Grassi rector on October 16, 1811; but because of the great war movements, the letters reached America in June of 1812. They were addressed to Fr. Charles Neale,³⁰ superior, and instructed that Fr. Grassi should make a whole month of the Spiritual Exercises and prepare himself for solemn profession on the following August 15th. After this he was to succeed Fr. Charles Neale as superior of Ours.

Fr. Grassi soon began to execute Fr. General's orders; and seeing that it was impossible to make the month of Spiritual Exercises at the college, he decided to go to the residence of St. Thomas, which was situated on the Potomac [in Charles County, Maryland]. Being there eight or more days, he contracted a delirious fever which was very common in those parts during the warm season. He was therefore obliged to return to the college where he suffered from this fever for about a year. It was not serious enough, however, to keep him from dealing with some urgent matters.

VIII. FOUNDING A PERMANENT NOVITIATE

One of the most difficult problems to which Fr. Grassi devoted his attention was the novitiate, which he realized only too well must be moved from the college. But where was he to locate it? And whom was he to appoint as master?

With regard to the locality, it was suggested that a very suitable place was the residence of St. Inigo's on the southern coast of Maryland; and this choice was approved by all. The master of novices was to be Fr. William Beschter, a Belgian.³¹ He was highly esteemed because of his kindly disposition, joined with an apostolic zeal of which he had given brilliant proof in the Pennsylvania missions, especially in the City of Lancaster where he labored. On one of his journeys, in performing the sacred minis-

³⁰ Charles Neale was received into the Society in 1805 and upon the death of Fr. Molyneux in 1808, he was appointed superior. Harney, *Jesuits*, p. 141.

³¹ John William Beschter (1763-1842) entered the Society in 1806. He labored at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, became master of novices, and later was president of Georgetown for a brief period in 1829. W. Coleman Nevils, *Miniatures of Georgetown* (Washington, 1935), p. 129.

tries, he had fallen from his horse and had received some kind of fracture. Because of this, the doctor decided that he was unfit to continue in that laborious type of work. Fr. Beschter had a vast knowledge of Masonic rites, and he had published a book in Philadelphia in which he exposed the secret rites of that sect. This so aroused the anger of the Freemansons in Philadelphia that in one of their meetings they condemned him to death according to their custom. Fr. Beschter was notified of the decision, but at the same time he learned that in another meeting the matter was again discussed with greater calm and it was agreed just to blacklist him and the book.

Archbishop Carroll heartily approved of Fr. Beschter as master, especially because he had already found another priest to take Fr. Beschter's place on the missions. Finally, in October of 1812, Fr. Beschter went with six novices to St. Inigo's where he had prepared a suitable place to receive them. Unfortunately, they could not remain there very long since America had declared war against the English who began to make frequent raids on the coasts of Maryland. It soon became necessary to transfer the novitiate inland. The residence of our missionaries in Fredericktown was sufficient for the small number of novices. There they took refuge at the end of April 1813, and they hoped that they would remain there only a short time.

This seems to have been a special act of Providence because a few days after they had left St. Inigo's the English unexpectedly attacked and came to our house. No sooner had they landed than they plundered whatever they could lay their hands on. They entirely ransacked the house and even entered the chapel where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved, and where there was a silver chalice containing consecrated hosts. Taking this and all the gold they could find, they fled. The Brother [Mobberly] who was in charge of the house and property reported at once to Fr. Superior [Grassi] the sacrilegious plunder of the English and the damage that had been done. Fr. Superior showed the Brother's letter to President Monroe who had accounts of the attack published in the gazettes. These papers came into the hands of the captain who had led the raid on St. Inigo's. He was afraid that such a crime would become known to his superior officers and that he

would be severely punished. Gathering together his band of men, he made them return all the stolen loot, and returning to the same house which he had robbed, he called the Brother and returned the valuables. The Brother found the pyx with the consecrated hosts and fell on his knees in adoration and replaced it in the tabernacle. With regard to the other missing articles, the captain restored some of them and gave a sum of money for the damage that had been done. Imploring the Brother, he begged pardon for the crime he had committed, and pleaded with the Brother not to notify his superior officers as he had acted against the rights of nations and of war. No complaint was made, and he suffered no ill consequences.

It was necessary to think of procuring a fixed place for the novitiate, and the residence at Whitemarsh seemed suitable, once a house could be built, even of wood, with two large halls: one for an ascetory; the other for a dormitory. The Corporation approved the project and entrusted the responsibility of building the house to a [secular] priest of the same Corporation [Fr. Bitouzey].³² He accepted the charge rather indifferently, and he did not approve of the superior [Grassi], who visited the place from time to time to see what progress was being made.

During this time it became necessary that Fr. Grassi go to certain spring baths in Virginia as a sure means of ending his fever, which very often afflicted him. He was now so ill that the fever was likely to develop into consumption. While going to the spring-waters, he had to pass through Fredericktown and he stopped to visit the novitiate. To his great surprise and sorrow, he found the novices unhappy and dejected. They scarcely dared to say a word. Obviously the advice given to the master [Beschter] on some other occasion had been useless, namely, that he was not to form Trappists but Jesuits. Calling the novices one by one, Fr. Grassi found out that the master made them fast

³² Germain Bitouzey, a Norman, had been entrusted with the care of the Whitemarsh Plantation in 1801. He soon acquired considerable influence in the Corporation, and, in 1802, he was elected one of the trustees. He greatly disliked the American Jesuits, and he refused to give up possession of Whitemarsh, since, as far as he was concerned, the Society had not been reestablished in the United States. At the insistence of Grassi, Bitouzey finally resigned in October 1813, and the novices shortly moved to Whitemarsh. Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, p. 366.

without discretion, and this explained their unhealthy and pallid look. In short, he observed that piety and zeal were not enough to make a master of the Society of Jesus, and he began immediately to consider how he could remedy so grievous a situation.

All this while Fr. Superior kept insisting that the new building at Whitemarsh should be completed as soon as possible and that the novices should be moved there. This greatly displeased the Father Administrator at Whitemarsh [Bitouzey] who wrote to Bishop Neale most violent letters against Fr. Grassi. But Bishop Neale did not believe these reports and went to visit Fr. Grassi, who explained the situation of the novices. The bishop was convinced that they should move out at once and that the house should be closed. Consequently, the novices left Fredericktown, and came to the college to proceed from there to Whitemarsh. Nonetheless, Fr. Bitouzey showed himself entirely opposed to the plan and refused to receive them while he was in charge of that residence. It was necessary to wait patiently in the hope that in the next meeting of the Corporation steps would be taken to solve the problem.

Very opportunely the Archbishop of Baltimore came to Georgetown, and he assured Fr. Superior that he would call him when all the members of the Corporation were present, and then he [Grassi] could plead the cause of the homeless novices. The assembly was called, but Fr. Superior was not invited, to the great displeasure of all the members of the Society. Finally, the priest at Whitemarsh [Bitouzey] decided to leave, and he resigned his position. He retired to a few acres of land which were later sold, and he returned to France to finish his days. The novices, then, prepared to go and occupy the house and to begin their novitiate trials.

The most difficult part, however, still remained, namely, to find a master of novices. Fr. Anthony Kohlmann was the only one capable for the office, but how could he be transferred from New York? Divine Providence solved the problem. In the first place, since Fr. General was kept well informed about the boarding school which Fr. Kohlmann had opened in New York, he eventually decided that it should be closed.

It was also at this time that Abbé [Augustin] d'Estrange, superior of the Trappists who were seeking to open a monastery

in America, made us a proposal.³³ The Abbé, realizing that the Jesuits had now closed their boarding school, offered to occupy it and to pay the same sum of money as had been paid for its purchase. The Trappists came to New York and continued the establishment as a Trappist monastery. They also opened a school and presented a program of their course of studies in which they said that they would teach the various medicinal properties of herbs. All this had occurred before 1814; but no sooner had they reached New York than the Trappists heard of Buonaparte's exile, and the return of the Bourbons to the throne of France. At this news the Abbé thought of nothing but returning to France and, in fact, he did leave with all his religious. . . .

Another favorable circumstance which facilitated Fr. Kohlman's return [to Maryland] was the fact that Monsignor Connolly, an Irishman, was named Bishop of New York, and he was due to arrive very shortly. Finally [on August 7, 1814] the Society was reestablished by the Apostolic Bull, *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, promulgated by Pius VII of immortal memory. This Bull reached America on December, 9, 1814, and the superior [Grassi] immediately gathered the whole community into the chapel to tell them the happy news and to thank the Lord for so great a benefit by singing the *Te Deum* with the *Veni Creator*. Fr. Kohlmann was recalled from New York, and he arrived in time to preach to Ours, to our visitors, and to the students, on the reestablishment of the Society. This he did quite effectively and produced a very salutary impression upon all. Shortly thereafter Fr. Kohlmann began his duties as novice master at White-marsh, and several days later, on February 6, 1815, ten novices left Georgetown to go to the new novitiate.

IX. GEORGETOWN RECEIVES ITS CHARTER

Georgetown College now had more than a hundred boarders, capable professors, and what is more, Fr. Benedict Fenwick, who recently returned from the abandoned boarding school at New York was now minister and prefect of studies.

³³ In September 1802, a group of Trappists, driven from their monastery in France at the outbreak of the French Revolution, arrived at Baltimore. Sometime later they were joined by another group. Their early attempts at an American foundation ended in failure. Curran, "Jesuit Colony," pp. 88-89.

Owing to the fact that there were in Congress, at the time, various members who had sons at the school, it was decided to request authorization to confer the academic degrees at Georgetown College in order to prevent the unhappy event of seeing our school subject by the government to some non-Catholic university, as had already occurred elsewhere.

Mr. Gaston, a former student and the only Catholic in Congress, took upon himself the task of formulating the petition, presenting it, and answering any objectors.³⁴ All went according to plan, and the decree whereby the college was authorized to confer academic degrees as any other university in the United States was written up in the *Congressional Record* and the *National Intelligencer*. . . .

X. LOSSES AND NEEDS OF THE CHURCH

The close of 1815 was sad for the Baltimore Catholics because of the death of Archbishop John Carroll, who died on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier [Dec. 3]. Fr. Enoch Fenwick,³⁵ informed by the doctor that the venerable prelate would not live more than a few days, wrote to Fr. Superior [Grassi] and to the master of novices [Kohlmann] so that they could come to Baltimore and pay their respects to the Archbishop. As soon as Fr. Superior arrived, the archbishop desired to see him, and among many things, he repeated his attachment to the Society of Jesus and added that, in the disposal of his personal estate, he had assigned to Georgetown four hundred pounds for the purchase of scientific books. The archbishop had been a very cultured gentleman with a thorough knowledge of theology, which as a Jesuit he had taught for a number of years at the College of Liège. Together with his suavity of manner, he had such a goodness of heart that he de-

³⁴ William Gaston, a native of North Carolina, was the first student to enroll at Georgetown on November 22, 1791. He was a representative in Congress during the time that his son, Alexander, was also attending the college. Gaston presented the petition for a charter on January 27, 1815. The bill passed both houses of Congress, and was signed by President Madison on March 1st. Daley, *Georgetown*, pp. 189-204.

³⁵ Enoch Fenwick, son of a Maryland Catholic family, entered the Society in 1806 with his brother, Benedict Fenwick, who was later consecrated Bishop of Boston in 1825. Enoch was of invaluable assistance to Archbishop Carroll as rector of the Baltimore Cathedral. In 1820 he became the eleventh president of Georgetown. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

servedly won the esteem and respect of not only the Catholics but even the sectarians who were hostile to the very name of Roman Catholic. Georgetown College offered a solemn funeral service for him, and Fr. Superior read the funeral eulogy.

Bishop [Leonard] Neale, the coadjutor, undertook the functions of the Archbishop of Baltimore. He had spent his life working with great zeal in the missions of England [British Guiana], in Charles County [Maryland] and in the City of Philadelphia. He was somewhat strict, but more with himself than with others. In temporal matters, he had a way of thinking all his own, and once he made a decision for the greater glory of God he was inflexible.

Neale, reflecting on the needs of the missions, realized that they could not be better served than by Religious, and, therefore, on April 3, 1816, he signed an agreement with Fr. Grassi whereby a number of missions or parishes of his diocese were entrusted to the Jesuits.

Although some priests came to America from Europe, nevertheless, it was far from the number needed to care for the scattered Catholics. It was suggested to the superior that one of the Brothers [John McElroy], who filled the office of procurator, a modest and courteous man, could succeed as an excellent operarius in the needy missions. Fr. General agreed that he could study for the priesthood, and Archbishop Neale ordained him in April of 1817.³⁶ Some good young men were also helped to learn as much moral theology as in the judgment of the archbishop was sufficient for the proper administration of the sacraments and were ordained to the priesthood. In addition, there arrived from Belgium two young priests, Frs. Lekue and Detheux, and after finishing barely one year of novitiate, they were assigned at once to the mission stations. . . .³⁷

On April 10, 1817, Fr. Grassi received from Baltimore a letter of Archbishop Neale in which the archbishop made most pressing

³⁶ After laboring at Holy Trinity Church, Washington, and St. John's Church, Father McElroy was a chaplain in the Mexican War and later founded Boston College. In his last years he retired to the novitiate at Frederick where he died in 1877. J. Berkeley Hines, "Lincoln in a Cassock," *Woodstock Letters*, LXXXVII (1958), 335-398.

³⁷ Lekue was assigned to the Conewago Mission, Pennsylvania; Detheux worked at Holy Trinity Church, where he later became rector. "Catalogue of the Maryland Mission for 1818-1819," pp. 188-189.

pleas that Fr. Grassi should come to him as soon as possible since the Archbishop had matters of great importance to communicate to him. When he arrived in Baltimore, Fr. Grassi found the archbishop and his vicar general, the Abbé Ambrose Maréchal,³⁸ in consultation. [Fr. Grassi] promptly inquired whether the business for which he had been called was of such a nature as to enable him to return to the college on the following day. The reply was in the affirmative. The archbishop, leading the conversation, said that they had reflected a great deal about the conditions of the Catholic religion in the country and it seemed to both of them that neither the pope nor the General of the Society had sufficient knowledge of the recent developments in the country.³⁹ "We see no other expedient," [the Archbishop] said, "than that one who is well experienced in American affairs should go to Rome and inform the Holy Father and the General. We have not been able to find a person more suitable for this task than Your Reverence. You have been in this country for seven years. In your capacity as superior you have had the opportunity of seeing in detail the progress of events; you are an Italian and therefore you can more easily inform Rome of those things that ought to be made known, namely, the importance of these missions and their needs. Fr. General has confidence in you and for this reason you can render a great service to the Church and the Society."

He concluded by saying, "The sooner you leave for Rome, the better it will be." [Fr. Grassi] replied that he would communicate their plan to his consultors, and this he did when he returned to Georgetown. They could not but approve of such a mission. This was the response given to the archbishop: that his desires would be fulfilled; but a short delay was necessary to settle some affairs.

³⁸ Ambrose Maréchal, S.S., born near Orleans, France, August 28, 1764, taught after ordination in institutions of the Sulpicians, both in France and at Saint Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. Consecrated on December 14, 1817, he succeeded Leonard Neale as Archbishop of Baltimore. John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886-92), III, 39-41.

³⁹ Among other difficulties was the Charleston schism. The Rev. Simon Felix Gallagher and the Rev. Robert Browne, OSA., assisted by trustees, were determined to oust the Rev. Joseph Picot de Clorivière from the pastorate in Charleston. Peter Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia, 1815-1833* (New York, 1924), p. 279.

About this time there arrived at Georgetown a Mr. Barber, a Protestant minister from New England, who had requested Fr. Benedict Fenwick in New York to receive him, his wife, and children into the Church. Once this was done, both thought of becoming religious. He had requested to be admitted into the Society. His wife desired to become a [Visitation] nun. The matter was settled by Archbishop Neale. He accepted Mrs. Barber into the convent, which he had founded, and he allowed her children to remain there with her until their education was completed. Her husband, then, was received into the college to pursue his studies.⁴⁰

Shortly thereafter the Church of Baltimore and the Society suffered a great loss at the death of Archbishop Neale, which occurred on June 18, 1817. His remains, in accordance with his desires, were placed in a specially made vault in the garden of the Sulpicians until the new church could be completed.

Many marvelous incidents happened to this apostolic man of great faith. An example is the following event which I heard the archbishop narrate a number of times and which occurred while he was a missionary, traveling to the various churches in Maryland to administer the sacraments.

He had been warned that in a certain locality there was a woman of ill repute. On hearing that there was a missionary nearby, even she, in order not to appear inferior to the others, went to confession, and the missionary administered the sacrament. When the confessions were finished, the priest celebrated Mass at which there were many communicants. While giving out Holy Communion, Fr. Neale noted, to his surprise, that one particular place at the communion rail was unoccupied each time he walked past. After Mass the woman went to the sacristy in a rage, and began to curse the priest for refusing to give her Communion. The good missionary reassured her that he had given Communion to all, and he had certainly not refused anyone. Then he added, "Tell me where you were kneeling at the rail." She pointed to the

⁴⁰ Virgil Horace Barber had been an Episcopalian minister in New Hampshire. After he and his family were converted in 1816, he entered the Society the following year. He studied for a time at Rome, was ordained, and then returned to labor in New England. In his later years he returned to Georgetown where he died in 1847. Hughes, *Society of Jesus* pp. 548, 570.

same place which always appeared to the priest to be empty. Thus the Lord permitted that that wicked woman should not add to her other sins the horrible sin of a sacrilegious Communion.

After the death of Archbishop Neale, Fr. Grassi was notified that a ship was ready at Philadelphia to set sail for Europe.⁴¹ He took as a companion a young second year novice [Aloysius Young].⁴² They left on the 28th of June and in the brief space of 19 days they arrived in [Bordeaux] France. From there they went to Rome on the 11th of September, 1817.

In the following year, realizing the great ignorance prevalent in Europe with regard to actual conditions in North America, Fr. Grassi published a book entitled *Notizie Diverse*⁴³ which was most favorably received by the public. It served to give a good idea of the state of the Catholic Religion in that part of the world. His Holiness, Pius VII, welcomed it very graciously, as did the most eminent cardinals and prelates to whom it was presented. It was eventually translated into various languages, and reprinted several times in different journals. . . .

XI. A FURTHER NOTATION

I cannot refrain from giving some account of an interesting event. One Sunday morning, February 9, 1813, while I was hearing confessions, there came a foreigner who asked that his confession be heard in French. After confession, taking from his bag a bundle of letters which he had brought from St. Petersburg, he presented them to me and remarked that he would come later to speak with me at the college. Among the letters I found one from Fr. Grivel⁴⁴ in which he rather mysteriously recommended the

⁴¹ It was the Abbé Marechal who thought it advisable that Fr. Grassi still go to Rome and accomplish the mission that the deceased prelate had entrusted to him. Gilbert Garraghan, "John Anthony Grassi, S.J.," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXIII (1937), p. 286.

⁴² Young went to study at Rome and returned several years later. "Catalogue of the Maryland Mission for 1818-1819," pp. 188-189.

⁴³ The *Notizie Diverse or Some Observations on the Present Conditions in the United States* was published in Rome in 1818 and in Milan in 1819. An English translation of this account can be found in *Woodstock Letters*, XI (1882), 230-244.

⁴⁴ Fidele de Grivel, S.J., born in France in 1769, entered the novitiate in White Russia in 1803. He later taught rhetoric and the humanities at St. Petersburg and in 1817 returned to France, where he became socius to the Provincial. In 1830, he came to the United States and was master of

bearer of the letter, Alexander Divoff. The young man himself very soon explained everything. He was a member of one of the principal families of Moscow. His father, a rich landowner with 40,000 peasants on his estates, cared little for religion. His mother belonged to the Woronzef Family and she was the sister of the Countess Butturlin, a noted Catholic in Florence. By good fortune his mother had entrusted the education of her three children to an Abbé Barbin, a French immigrant, who made a salutary impression on Alexander. Even when the above-mentioned Abbé left Moscow the boy took such an interest in religion that he finally came to know that he did not belong to the true Church of Jesus Christ. He had various conferences with another priest, who, if I am not mistaken, was called Toubert, a Frenchman in the service of the Catholic Church in Moscow. Finally, with all secrecy, Alexander made his abjuration of schism and became a Catholic. It was difficult for him to fulfill his obligations by remaining in Moscow or in his father's house, and since, on the other hand, he wished to embrace the religious life, especially in the Society of Jesus, with which he had become enamored by reading the lives of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, he asked advice of Abbé Toubert. To his great surprise Alexander learned that there were Jesuits in Russia, but at the same time he realized that it would be impossible for him to be accepted. Yet he could be admitted in America where the Society was established. This seemed to be the best plan, because he would then be away from home, and would be able to practice his Catholic Faith freely. Therefore, in speaking with his father, he began to show himself desirous of traveling to the great Republic which was rising on the other side of the Atlantic. He added, moreover, "I could make my journey more profitable by engaging in some business enterprise, but for this some money would be necessary."

His father, filled with the same modern ideas, favored the project. He also wished that [Alexander] should go with some honorable title, and he obtained for him the title of "attaché" to the Russian legation at Washington. This was readily granted because no salary was involved. In addition his father agreed to

novices at Whitemarsh. There he died in 1842. Charles Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1892) III, 1839.

give him 30,000 rubles for going into business; also he was to procure more money for his stay in America from his uncle, Count Woronzef, the Russian Ambassador at the Court in London. Alexander left Moscow and went to St. Petersburg. Abbé Toubert introduced him to Fr. Grivel, who recommended him to me since I had been in America for three years.

For about two months Alexander continued to come to our church and the sacraments at Georgetown without the Russian Minister, d'Ashkow, knowing anything about it. He soon found himself in difficulty, however, since he had spent most of his money and realized that he was forced to practice economy. He used this pretext to arrange what he desired, namely, to come and live with us at the college where I would warmly receive him on the recommendation of the Minister, d'Ashkow. Alexander made his request [to the Minister] and received this recommendation, and I complied, saying that hereafter I would give him a room and also permission to dine from time to time with His Excellency. Alexander finally decided to declare himself a Roman Catholic to the Minister at the first opportunity, and this presented itself very soon. One day while at table, Signor d'Ashkow began to talk about religion and the many sects which there are in the world. He concluded by saying that "all should choose the religion that they wish to keep." Alexander then replied, "As far as I am concerned I know what course I am to follow, for I am a Catholic."

"That is to say," answered the Minister, "you are a Russian Catholic."

"Not a Russian Catholic, but a Roman Catholic," explained Divoff. At these words d'Ashkow remained somewhat sceptical, as if he had heard a foolish remark; but Alexander continued to say that the Roman Catholic religion was the only one and true religion.

"You, therefore, do not follow the religion of the emperor?"

"I am a Roman Catholic," repeated Divoff.

"But how can an intelligent man believe such absurdities . . . for example, that Christ is present in the Holy Eucharist?"

"If you, Signor Minister, do not believe this, either you do

not know the Russian religion which professes this truth, or you certainly do not follow the religion of the emperor."

"If you persist in this religion," responded d'Ashkow, "I can no longer look upon you as a member of this legation."

"Fine," said Divoff, "I am ready to give my resignation." And rising from the table he wrote it out and gave it to d'Ashkow.

On the following day, the Minister requested to see me and recounted everything. He said that he wished to write to the emperor. I limited myself to saying that Divoff was already a Catholic when he came to America. "I know," answered His Excellency; "I was informed that he discussed controversial matters concerning religion aboard his ship."

After this declaration of faith, Alexander requested to enter the Society and was sent to Whitemarsh [June 3, 1813]. He later went to Rome in 1824 with Fr. Kohlmann to obtain from our Father General his dismissal from the Society for reasons of health.

Naples, 1836—At the Monastery of St. Sebastian.

O.A.M.D.G.

THE DIOCESE OF JUNEAU, ALASKA

BY GERARD G. STECKLER, S.J.*

ALEXANDER II (1855-1881), autocratic Czar of all the Russias, was troubled and angry. In the time of his famous Romanov predecessor, Peter the Great (1682-1725), expeditions had been sent under the Dane, Vitus Bering, to discover what continental lands lay to the east of the Kamchatkan and Siberian peninsulas. There, in the early dawn of July 15, 1741, Alexei Chirikov, of the second Vitus Bering expedition, had discovered the North American coastline reputedly near the Sitka harbor of today. Bering himself anchored near Kayak Island four days later, not far from the glacier which was soon to be named in his honor.¹ Thus Alaska was discovered, the Terra de Jeso of the 17th-century cartographers,² with its network of thousands of islands, its impenetrable terrain of mountains and tundra, its precious and limitless resources.

More than a century later, in 1867, bitter abuse was heaped upon Secretary of State William H. Seward and upon Senator Charles Sumner when the former offered to buy these "frozen wastelands" and the latter defended their acquisition. Russian America had become a liability. The Russian American Company had no more Baranovs or Rezanovs to make the land a profitable investment, and the government was in no position to take over the financial problems of this outermost of Russian colonies.³

Czar Alexander, accordingly, instructed his minister at Washington, Baron Edward de Stoeckl, to sound out the Americans about the possibility of their purchasing the territory. Seward, despite immediate criticism that later grew almost ludicrous in its proportions and methods, purchased this land of over half a

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¹ Clarence L. Andrews, *Story of Alaska* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1938), pp. 25-26.

² F. A. Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850* (Cleveland, 1914), pp. 117-131.

³ Alexander Baranov had charge of operating the company for many years. A financial wizard, he was also adept at exercising dominion over the natives and in preserving from spoliation certain districts where the fur and sea animals had almost disappeared. Nicholas Rezanov, son-in-law of the famed explorer, Grigorii Shelikov, secured the original franchise of the Russian American Company. Andrews, *Alaska*, pp. 44 ff.

million square miles at about two cents an acre, during some few hours when the vast majority of the capital's inhabitants lay in slumber. A "dastardly deed done in the dark," this purchase of "Walrussia" for the staggering sum of \$7,200,000,⁴ has since proved to be the cheapest and most valuable of American acquisitions.

The discovery of Alaska in those sectors which today are included in the confines of the Catholic Diocese of Juneau enjoys a remarkable appropriateness and coincidence, for it is the part of Alaska that has been the vanguard of the territory's growth. The Diocese of Juneau forms an integral physical and ecclesiastical entity in a country whose east-west and north-south extremities can be neatly juxtaposed upon a map of the country. The diocese was established June 23, 1951, and its bishop, the Right Reverend Dermot O'Flanagan, was consecrated on October 3 of the same year. In the diocese's 70,800 square miles, and of her total population of around 75,000, there are about 11,000 Catholics, served by fewer than twenty priests and by about forty-five nuns. The diocese, at its western terminal, begins at the intersection of the fifty-sixth degree latitude and the one hundred and fifty-sixth degree longitude. From that point the boundary extends through Shelikof Strait, Cook Inlet, and up the Susitna River to a point a little over three miles north of the settlement of Talkeetna; from this point the line travels in a southeasterly direction passing west of the towns of Chickaloon and Ptarmigan, brushing the summits of Mt. Miller and Mt. St. Helias, and then to the international boundary line.

The first recorded visit by a Catholic priest in what is now called Alaska, but at that time was still termed Russian America, occurred in 1862. The Reverend Jean Sequin, of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, made his way from the district of MacKenzie across the Rocky Mountains to Fort Yukon, the pioneer settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company. There he spent the winter. After he had made his report the following year to his religious

⁴ When Baron Stoeckl went to Seward's home and informed him that the Czar had agreed on the proposed sum, Seward was so pleased that he closed the agreement in his office between midnight and 4 a.m. See Virginia Hancock Reid, *The Purchase of Alaska—Contemporary Opinion* (Long Beach, California, 1939), pp. 1-6.

superior, Bishop Henri Faraud, O.M.I., the latter decided that a mission in Alaska would, at least for the present, prove too perilous. Not until 1870 did another Catholic missionary enter the country.⁵

The Oblate missionaries had been laboring in the MacKenzie district for more than twenty years when the Reverend Emile Petitot, O.M.I., crossed the boundary from Canada in 1870 to ascertain whether the country had now a better potential for Catholic evangelization.⁶ After he had informed Bishop Faraud that the prospects were much brighter, the prelate decided to send his own coadjutor to view the possibilities. Francois Mercier, chief of the Alaska Commercial Company in the Yukon and Tanana districts had, just previously, sent an invitation to the Oblate Fathers to cope with the growing surliness of the natives.⁷

Monsignor Isidore Clut, O.M.I., coadjutor bishop to Faraud of the Athabasca-MacKenzie district, and titular bishop of Arindale, journeyed across the mountains in the autumn of 1871 and wintered at Fort Yukon. Catholic missionary activity formally began the next summer when Bishop Clut, together with August Lecorre, O.M.I., made a long journey through central Alaskan territory by descending the Yukon River to St. Michael on the coast of Norton Sound. Although the bishop returned the same year, Father Lecorre remained to sow the seed of the Gospel in the virgin soil.

He worked near St. Michael until mid-1874, when he received letters informing him that Alaska had been assigned to the juris-

⁵ Much controversy has arisen over the date when a Catholic missionary first made his appearance in what we know as Alaska. Most authorities go no further back than 1871 or 1875. Edward J. Devine, S.J., gives the date as 1871: *Across Widest America* (Montreal, 1905), pp. 262-263. Joseph M. Barnum, S.J., mentions 1875 as the first date: "Account of the Murder of Archbishop Seghers," *Woodstock Letters*, XXII (Woodstock, Maryland, 1893), 436. Hereafter *WL*. Father Barnum, guilty in so many instances of a flair for the dramatic and colorful more than his data warrant, has the further misfortune to say that it was Bishop Clut of the 1871-72 expedition who made this 1875 trip.

⁶ For the work of the Oblate missionaries in the Mackenzie district the best sources are: A.G. Morice, O.M.I., *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, 1659-1895* (Toronto, 1910), I, 187-208; R. P. Th. Ortolan, O.M.I., *Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée, Au Canada* (Paris, n.d.), IV, 9 ff.

⁷ Devine, *Across Widest America*, p. 262.

diction of the Bishop of Vancouver Island, Charles John Seghers. To the saintly, scholarly, and apostolic Bishop Seghers is reserved the glory of the founding of the permanent Alaska mission and the title, "Apostle of Alaska."

Charles John Seghers was born at Ghent, Belgium, December 26, 1839, and was ordained a diocesan priest at Mechlin, May 30, 1863. He proceeded immediately for missionary work to the diocese of Victoria, British Columbia, and was consecrated Bishop of Vancouver Island, June 29, 1873.

Bishop Modeste Demers, the predecessor of Bishop Seghers at Vancouver Island, had ordered the Reverend Joseph Mandart, as early as 1867, to visit the southeastern coast of the Alaskan territory. No permanent mission was established as a result of this visit, and for some years the scarcity of priests prevented Bishop Seghers from visiting Alaska.⁸

An increase of priests for the diocese in the 1870's permitted the bishop to depart from Victoria, June 8, 1877, on board the *St. Paul*, a steamer of the Alaska Commercial Company, bound for his unknown dominion. Bishop Seghers, accompanied by Father Mandart, landed at St. Michael on July 14. There the two men stopped for five days, before leaving on July 19 in a umiak manned by Eskimos, who took them to Unalakleet, a point some eighty miles north of St. Michael on the Norton Bay Coast. They finally arrived at the Yukon River, did some exploring, and began their return trip. This exploration whetted the bishop's missionary appetite; he resolved to return as soon as conditions could warrant.⁹

The bishop, upon his return from this comparatively short sur-

⁸ Bishop Joseph Raphael Crimont, S.J., "Catholicism in Alaska," MS, Historical Archives of the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus, located at Mt. St. Michael's, Spokane, Washington, an institute affiliated with Gonzaga University of Spokane. Hereafter AOP.

⁹ Julius Jetté, S.J., "Sketch of the Alaskan Mission," MS, AOP. This point is disputed. Father Jetté and Bishop Crimont, in their manuscript histories, mention that Seghers entered Alaska from the western coast. Some authorities claim (and historical evidence refutes them) that the bishop, even for his first trip, proceeded to Sitka and then to Juneau and finally up the future gold rush trail to the headwaters of the Yukon. Seghers' own words should settle the problem: "I went through the mouth of the Youkon [sic] in 1877." Seghers to the Rev. J. J. Jonckau, August 31, 1886, *WL*, XVI (1887), 55. Also Barnum, "Life on the Alaska Mission," *WL*, XXII (1893), 438-439. In their historical writings Barnum is untrustworthy, Crimont is suspect in much, and Jetté is impeccable.

vey,¹⁰ found disagreeable news awaiting him. By a brief of December 10, 1878, he had been appointed coadjutor bishop to the Archbishop of Oregon City, Francis Norbert Blanchet, the pioneer missionary of the Northwest United States. Bishop Seghers was obliged to relinquish his designs regarding Alaska and soon succeeded to the archbishopric upon the incumbent's retirement. Despite the success he enjoyed in his new mission field and his devotion to the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountain mission, his heart yearned for the Alaska territory. Little wonder that when he visited Pope Leo XIII in 1883 the latter gladly gave him permission to resume his old see of Victoria, which was still vacant. His reappointment was confirmed on March 5, 1884, and at once he began preparations for his return to Alaska.¹¹

Archbishop-Bishop Seghers, before he had set out for Portland and his new archdiocese, had appointed on November 23, 1878, John Althoff, a young diocesan priest, twenty-four years of age and but recently arrived from Holland, the first resident missionary in Alaska. May 3, 1879, is the official date for the foundation of the Church in the diocese of Juneau. On that day Father Althoff established a church at Wrangell and began to serve the Catholics there. He also served, during this period, the famed Cassiar mining district on the Stickine River. Bishop Brondel of Montana blessed his church at Wrangell under the title, "St. Rose of Lima."¹²

When the first colonists came to Juneau, as a result of the finding of gold at the mouth of Gold Creek, Gastineau Channel, Father Althoff said the first Mass for them on July 17, 1882, in

¹⁰ Some events of this trip he later mentioned in the letter to Father Jonckau, the administrator of his diocese. See n. 9 above.

¹¹ Some confusion may result from calling him bishop as well as archbishop. He retained his title of archbishop even after his reappointment to the see of Vancouver Island.

¹² John B. René, S.J., to the Department of the Interior, March 23, 1909, AOP. The present title of the Church is St. Rose and St. John. Many of the original titles of the diocese's churches have been changed. When new churches were built or old ones altered the donors would grant money only on the stipulation that the title be changed. Originally the name, "St. Rose of Lima," was applied to please the Peruvians living there. When it became necessary to refurbish the church, or in this case perhaps when the new church was later erected, "St. John" was added. Joseph L. McElmeel, S.J., to the author, Juneau, Alaska, July 5, 1953, *ibid*.

what long stood as a relic, the log-cabin church.¹³ The Reverend William Heynen was sent to aid him in the same year and worked particularly for the Church of St. Gregory Nazianzen in the Sitka area, which was ready for use in November of 1885. "These two men," Bishop Crimont asserted in later days, "were the pioneers of the Church in Southeastern Alaska."¹⁴ They lived in a log cabin when not on their missionary rounds and in the utter seclusion of missionary life preached the Gospel to native and white alike.

Father Althoff was also responsible for bringing the St. Ann Sisters to Juneau for the service of the small, recently erected hospital and school. Three Sisters from Victoria, led by Sister Mary Zeno, honored today as the pioneer Sister of Alaska, arrived for this work on September 11, 1886. Father Althoff henceforth ascribed his success to the faithful cooperation of these Sisters. He was instrumental only two years later in providing a slightly larger hospital in the same block.¹⁵ As a result of the pope's ordering the separation of the territory of Alaska from the Diocese of Vancouver Island in September 1895, Father Althoff retired from the field of his sixteen years of hardship and was relieved by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. He later worked in Nelson, British Columbia, and served as vicar general for the Archdiocese of Vancouver, where he did equally outstanding work. The "Friend of the Miners" was loved and venerated; still remembered is the incident of his once traveling 180 miles to Sitka by canoe to give the sacraments to a dying Catholic Austrian, only to arrive too late.¹⁶

Archbishop Seghers in the meantime was having no success in his attempts to find a religious order who could spare him a few men for his contemplated Alaskan journey. At last he was successful in prevailing upon Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J., superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission of the Society of Jesus, to furnish

¹³ Crimont, "Catholicism in Alaska," p. 30, *ibid.*

¹⁴ [Anon.,] "Alaska Missions—History with Pictures," MS, p. 7, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Sisters of St. Ann's Convent, Lachine, Quebec, October 24, 1928, "Some Incidents in the Life of Reverend J. A. Althoff, V. G., Archdiocese of Vancouver," MS, pp. 1-3, *ibid.* The St. Ann Sisters were established at Vadreil, Quebec, in 1848.

¹⁶ Crimont, "Catholicism in Alaska," pp. 6-7, *ibid.*

two priests to accompany him into the territory's wilds.¹⁷ Father Cataldo appointed Pascal Tosi and Aloysius Robaut as the first Jesuits to aid the archbishop in his plans for the conversion of Alaska. Great was the exultation in the heart of this apostle as from the cupola of his residence he first saw the steamer bearing his companions of the future entering the harbor. Preparations were now earnestly entered into as the archbishop decided this time to take the route which would lead to the Yukon headwaters.¹⁸

Archbishop Seghers and his traveling companions, Fathers Tosi and Robaut, together with their helper, Francis Fuller,¹⁹ who had previously worked for the Jesuit Fathers at DeSmet Mission in Idaho, embarked from Victoria, July 13, 1886, bound for Juneau and the Yukon. From Juneau, the "northermost town in Alaska" at the time the group proceeded through that body of water well known to inhabitants of this district of the Juneau Diocese—Lynn Canal, "flanked by ranges of lofty peaks, every gorge of which is filled with a glacier almost to the edge of the salt water."²⁰ The party went on through Chilcoot Inlet, where the natives managed to extort \$303 from the archbishop to pay for the ferrying, portage, and general guidance of the group. They followed trails that became famous only a dozen years later, until at last the Chilcoot Pass lay behind them and Lakes Bennett and Laberge and the vistas of the Yukon country ahead.

The story is well known in its finale. The archbishop, accompanied by Fuller, proceeded down the Yukon in accordance with his original designs, while the Fathers remained behind. The suddenly demented Fuller, who probably cannot be held accountable for his crime, murdered the archbishop. Although he did

¹⁷ The archbishop, writing to a Jesuit Father, gave his plan of action: "My plan will be to take 2 or 3 of your Fathers, with Brothers, with me . . . put them in charge of that new field and then, leaving them, sail the Youkon down to visit the other parts of Alaska." Seghers to Lawrence Palladino, S.J., November 25, 1885, quoted by William N. Bischoff, S.J., *Jesuits in Old Oregon* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1945), p. 194. The offering of these two priests by Father Cataldo represented a considerable sacrifice. The Rocky Mountain Mission was extremely pressed for missionaries.

¹⁸ Barnum, "Murder of Archbishop Seghers," pp. 436-439.

¹⁹ The archbishop throughout his letter erroneously referred to Fuller as a coadjutor brother of the Society of Jesus.

²⁰ Seghers to Jonckau, August 31, 1886, *WL*, XVI (1887), 56.

not die for the faith, the blood of this missionary sowed the seeds of spiritual victory in the territory of Alaska.²¹ From this time on the Society of Jesus determined to call for more missionaries to fulfill their part of the bargain made with the man who had shed his blood for love of Alaska.

Father Tosi, upon arriving at the scene of the crime and learning of the archbishop's death, hurried back to the United States for immediate reinforcements. Aloysius Ragaru, S.J., and a Jesuit lay brother, Carmelo Giordano, were the first recruits. A thin trickle of Jesuit missionaries, all that could be spared from the Northwest, made their way into Alaska: Joseph M. Treca, Paul Muset, William Judge, Joseph M. Barnum, Aloysius Parodi, Julius Jetté, Aloysius Jacquet, Francis Monroe, and many others who were determined that the archbishop should not have shed his blood in vain.

In the beginning their efforts centered almost exclusively in the northern interior and western coastal regions, and, in so doing, apparently were neglecting those regions which today fall within the boundaries of the Diocese of Juneau. Some of the missionaries thought that nothing could be done for the natives of the southern coast because they had already been corrupted by their association with the whites, especially with the Russians.²² The future was to prove their judgement erroneous.

They may have been referring, however, to the Aleuts of the district west of Cook Inlet. Missionaries, even to this day, have met with very limited success among these people. Another Jesuit, in fact, asserted that when speaking of the Alaskan missions, there was no need to say anything about that portion of the southern extremity, including Sitka, down to Dixon Entrance and the boundary line, for that section might be "considered as inconsiderable" with regard to Jesuit missions. The reason, he alleged, was that this territory was populated already and would

²¹ Many maintain that Seghers was martyred. Among these were Crimont and perhaps de Baets, the biographer of Seghers. The facts do not bear out this theory. Joseph R. Crimont, S.J., *Sketch of the Martyrdom of Archbishop Charles John Seghers* (n.p., n.d.). A copy can be located in AOP.

²² Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J., "Death of Archbishop Seghers," *WL*, XVI (1887), 270-281.

in time be separated from the great mainland; thus, strictly speaking, the district was not subject to missionary activity.²³ Part of his prophecies have come true; the center of Alaska's population is in this sector, and the first diocese in Alaska has been the Diocese of Juneau, i.e., the southern coasts and the southeastern region of Alaska.

June of 1894 must be regarded as an important date for general Alaskan history. Joseph Raphael Crimont, S.J., then departed from the United States bound for the Alaskan interior, where he worked for many years before being called to Juneau as first bishop of all Alaska.

Pope Leo XIII solemnly recognized the importance of the Alaskan mission by erecting it as an autonomous prefecture apostolic on July 17, 1894, and, in so doing, separated the mission from the Oregon City Archdiocese. The pope appointed Father Tosi the first prefect apostolic.²⁴ Tosi, immediately after his elevation to this office, determined to meet with Archbishop William H. Gross of Oregon City to settle the administrative problems resulting from the division. Father Tosi, with Fathers Joseph Barnum and Joseph Treca as his Jesuit companions, decided to take the route from Unalaska in the Aleutians to Sitka and then down the coast to Portland. In so doing he could also fulfill an important apostolic obligation: a personal investigation of all points of Southeastern Alaska, including the Alexander Archipelago, down to Dixon Entrance. The steamer, *Dora*, left Unalaska in the middle of July 1895, bound for Portland.²⁵

The party sailed past the island of Chirikov, southwest of Kodiak Island and just outside of the Diocese of Juneau, legendary habitat of the notorious and controversial Baranov, for many years head of the Russian American Company in the days when

²³ Anon., "Alaska—An Account of the Mission Brought down to June, 1889," *WL*, XIX (1890), 55.

²⁴ It was mistakenly thought for some time that the mission had been raised to the status of a vicariate apostolic, which would have meant that Father Tosi would have to be elevated to episcopal rank. The confusion was eventually cleared up to Father Tosi's immense gratification, and he soon embarked upon his new office as prefect apostolic of all Alaska. Anon., "Alaska," *WL*, XXIV (1895), 145, 319.

²⁵ Joseph M. Barnum, S.J., to the editor of *Woodstock Letters*, n.p., n.d., "Alaska—Our Trip From St. Michael to San Francisco," *WL*, XXIV (1895), 440 ff.

Russia still owned this territory. The missionaries next proceeded into Shelikof Strait, that beautiful body of water that today separates the Diocese of Juneau from the Vicariate of Alaska. Charmingly situated Kodiak village, for many years headquarters of Baranov's company, was the first important stop for the travelers. They steamed through the southern end of Cook Inlet, at the head of which today lies Anchorage, largest of all Alaskan cities, continuing past Kenai Peninsula with the town of Seward at the tip of its Resurrection Bay, into Prince William Sound where the ports of Valdez and Cordova stand as monuments of a glory that was at most embryonic, Valdez, whose features were lauded in 1914 by an editor-citizen: "Valdez has a population of about 1500; it is the best town in Alaska, has the best streets, best improvements, and everything else needed in growing towns; Valdez has got them all skinned."²⁶

The missionaries left the inland passage momentarily and headed for the open seas fronting the greatest glacier in Alaska, the Malespina, fed by the St. Helias Range, on past Yakutat Bay and District, home of the Thlinget Indians who caused the explorers, principally Vancouver, so many anxious moments, and the Russians so much bloodshed, bypassing Cross Sound and Icy Strait that lead to Juneau and the Lynn Canal, principal waterway of gold rush days. At last the steamer docked at Sitka, fronted by the extinct volcano of Mt. Edgecumbe, ancient capital of the territory, the New Archangel of the Russians.

At Sitka a Catholic youth was overjoyed to see the Fathers and conducted them to the Catholic church of the town, a miserable and almost bare little structure.²⁷ It was two years since Mass had last been celebrated there. Two of the Fathers offered public Masses the next morning after confessions had been heard. Benediction was given that evening: the Russian Orthodox priest of the town lent a small parlor organ for the occasion, and a Protestant lady, friend of the most influential Catholic couple of the town, played the accompaniment for the better half of that couple's

²⁶ Quoted by William Watson Woollen, *The Inside Passage to Alaska, 1782-1920* (Cleveland, 1924), II, 185.

²⁷ Barnum, "Alaska—Our Trip from St. Michael to San Francisco," *WL*, XXIV (1895), 441.

Benediction solos. The poor little church, as never before, was filled with the elite of Sitka.²⁸

The ship began the last part of its journey, going through Peril Strait and Chatham Sound to Juneau, flanked by the sheer, bold mountain bearing the same name, and from that port took the inside passage skirting Wrangell, past "wedged-in" Ketchikan, and finally docked at Portland. The first recorded survey made by Catholic missionaries of the Juneau Diocese of the future had been completed.

When, by reason of the separation of Alaska from the Diocese of Vancouver Island, Father Althoff relinquished his post at Juneau, his immediate Jesuit successor was John B. René. The Juneau of 1895 already boasted a church, a pastor's residence, and a school and hospital.²⁹ On Douglas Island, just across Gastineau Channel to the southwest, Father René started a parochial school soon after his arrival, but in the beginning Catholic worship in this locale was confined to the shelter of private homes and was supplied from Juneau.³⁰ Father Tosi worked with Father René for some time in this general district and endeared himself to the Catholic population. The island became a separate parish in 1895 under the title "Our Lady of the Mines." The church proved too small only five years later, and therefore Peter Clovis Bougis, S.J., erected at the entrance of Gastineau Channel a new one that henceforth caught the eye of tourists and passengers bound for Juneau as it threw into the shade the churches of all other denominations in the area.³¹ A rectory was later constructed under the direction of John H. Van der Pol, S.J., and subsequently enlarged by Joseph Bruckert, S.J. The Sisters of St. Ann conducted St. Ann's Hospital in Douglas, built in 1900, until the flooding of the Treadwell Gold Mines in March 1916 forced its closure.³² After the church burned in 1926, a new place of

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Anon., "Alaska," *WL*, XXIV (1895), 489.

³⁰ Anon., "Alaska," *WL*, XXV (1896), 156.

³¹ John B. René, S.J., to the editor of the *Woodstock Letters*, n.p., n.d., "State of Our Missions in Alaska," *WL*, XXX (1901), 10.

³² "St. Ann's in Alaska," AOP. This is a section from a pamphlet, the title and author of which are unknown. The bottom of Gastineau Channel broke through over the Treadwell Mines, submerged them in water, and utterly destroyed them. Woollen, *Inside Passage*, p. 238.

worship was built and the title changed to "St. Aloysius," because of the desire of a donor. Douglas is now served from Juneau, and the Catholic children of the Island come to the Nativity parish school in the territory's capital.³³

Father René, "ensconced in his little hermitage," as Father Barnum on a trip through Juneau in the spring of 1896 described the pastor's headquarters, must have been rather successful in his missionary efforts because he was temporally rewarded by being appointed prefect apostolic of Alaska in 1897, succeeding an ailing and exhausted Father Tosi. The new prefect decided to make his hub of activities Juneau, numbering at the time some two thousand inhabitants and ranking as the metropolis of Alaska.³⁴ He felt he was obliged, and preferred, to remain there during the winter so that he could attend to the needs of that part of the prefecture apostolic and at the same time correspond with the upper Yukon Range and the civilized world at large. Juneau was already clearly recognized as the spiritual center of the prefecture, and its political importance was soon acknowledged by the transference there of the capital seat from Sitka.³⁵

Father Tosi, one of Archbishop Seghers' original companions, left St. Michael's on September 13, 1897, heading for Juneau to recover his health. A salute of four guns was ordered when the ship left the harbor as a manifestation of the universal esteem in

³³ The Province of Canada of the Society of Jesus was formed in 1907, and the North Alaska Mission belonged to the latter province from 1908 to 1912. Edward Lecompte, S.J., provincial of the Canadian Province, made a visitation of the North Alaska Mission in the summer of 1909. In his letter describing the journey he mentions that on "June 10th, we touch for a few minutes at Douglas, where Fr. [John] Forhan [S.J.] was then stationed." Edward Lecompte, S.J., "Visitation of the North Alaska Mission," *WL*, XXXVIII (1909), 327.

³⁴ Joseph M. Barnum, S.J., to Joseph Richards, S.J., July, 1896, "To the Yukon River by Way of Chilcoot Pass," *WL*, XXVI (1897), 34.

³⁵ Father René, in 1897, felt that much work was yet to be done, for of the seven great districts in Alaska, only two, Juneau and Yukon (at that Reverend William Judge, S.J., was doing outstanding work at Dawson City and other Yukon locales), had Catholic ministrations, and that the absence of Catholic missionaries in the Aleutian chain was especially deplorable. He voiced the need of schools "as the only way to secure in a near future a generation of fervent Christians in a land where heathenism and polygamy are still having their own way . . . Why should not Catholics be the pioneers of civilization in Alaska as everywhere else?" John B. René, S.J., to the editor of the *Woodstock Letters*, October 31, 1897, "State of Our Missions in Alaska," *WL*, XXVI (1897), 523-524.

which he was held.³⁶ Soon thereafter the veteran missionary fell dead of heart failure, in Juneau early in the morning of January 14, 1898. The church was crowded for his funeral service; many wept unashamedly. The Catholic population of Juneau and Douglas Island, in pairs, carried the bier to the cemetery.³⁷

Father Joseph R. Crimont, S.J., was appointed prefect apostolic in 1904, taking the place of Father René. At a private consistory in March 1917, Pope Benedict XV announced the appointment of Crimont as the new vicar apostolic of the whole of the territory of Alaska. He was consecrated in St. James' Cathedral, Seattle, July 25, 1917,³⁸ and thus, after twenty years in Alaska, began an episcopal career which witnessed Alaska's flowering and continued for twenty-eight years, a total of almost fifty years.³⁹

Despite the meager number of priests and the complete absence of coadjutor lay brothers, the residence and church in Juneau were enlarged in 1897. A third building for hospital work was erected the same year, replacing the first structure of 1886.⁴⁰ Edward H. Brown, S.J., built a new church in Juneau in 1910, replacing Father Althoff's first church in the Juneau of 1885.⁴¹ The nucleus of the present modern and imposing structure on Sixth Street was

³⁶ The third shot went off prematurely; the firer barely escaped with his life.

³⁷ Joseph M. Treca, S.J., to John B. René, S.J., January 10, 1898, *WL*, XXVII (1898), 72.

³⁸ Anon., "Alaska," *WL*, XLVI (1917), 394.

³⁹ Bishop Crimont spent the whole period from 1894 to 1945 in Alaska except from 1901 to 1904, when he served as rector of Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington.

⁴⁰ "St. Ann's in Alaska," p. 19, AOP. That Juneau and the surrounding territory could have used more priests can be adjudged from Father René's own words: "With two men only in the District of Alaska, I am compelled to fulfill all the minute duties of a parish priest, besides my other more difficult and important duties. An assistant priest here would do good work and enable us to do justice to our cause and face the situation in this country, as becomes representatives of the true Church." René, to the editor of *Woodstock Letters*, February 8, 1900, *WL*, XXIX (1900), 166. The death of Father Judge confirmed René's implied statement that these were dark days for the Alaskan missions. See Charles J. Judge, S.S., *An American Missionary* (New York, 1907), pp. 255 ff.

⁴¹ P. J. Cormican, S.J., "Father Edward H. Brown of the Society of Jesus" (n.p.: n.d.), pp. 7-8, AOP. "In the evening we land at Juneau, the capital of Alaska where . . . the Prefect-Apostolic, Fr. Crimont, has established his headquarters." Lecompte, "Visitation" p. 327. Father Brown, the chancellor, welcomed the travelers, informing them that the Catholic population of the town of fifteen hundred numbered about one hundred.

built in 1914, through the efforts of Sister Mary Zeno, and replaced the outmoded hospital buildings of 1886, 1888, and 1897. Two years later another wing was added. The completion of a surgical unit in 1933 did away with the use of all buildings erected before 1914.⁴² A new wing costing half a million dollars was added to the hospital in 1953 in an attempt to keep up with Juneau's mushrooming population.

Aloysius Roccati, S.J., cemented the unity of the group of buildings on the Catholic block by the erection of a parish school, dedicated in the autumn of 1919 as a monument to the zeal of Father Roccati, the pastor, and to the devoted cooperation of the Sisters of St. Ann. It serves as a school, a parish house and a social and recreational center.⁴³

A golden jubilee celebration, commemorating the opening of the hospital and of the parochial school in Juneau, was held in September 1936. It began with a Solemn High Mass in the Church of the Nativity; Bernard Hubbard, S.J., the "Glacier Priest," was the celebrant. Mayor Isadore Goldstein, one of the first pupils of St. Ann's parochial school, gave the tribute at the unveiling of a portrait of Sister Mary Zeno, foundress of the hospital and school.⁴⁴

The Shrine of St. Terese occupies an important place in the diocese's works. Bishop Crimont, through the inspiration and zeal of William G. Levasseur, S.J., had determined as early as 1931 to construct a retreat house and a shrine in honor of St. Terese, the Little Flower, who, six years previously, had been chosen Patroness of Alaska. Work was begun on the retreat house the next year on the shores of Lynn Canal, twenty-three miles from Juneau. The shrine is a chapel built entirely of beach stone on Shrine Island, an islet reached from the shore by a causeway four hundred feet long. The cornerstone of this Norman style chapel was laid on October 30, 1938, by Bishop Crimont, on the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood. Mass was said there for the first time the following year. The chapel itself was built as a repository for religious paintings and as a

⁴² "St. Ann's in Alaska," p. 19, AOP.

⁴³ Anon., "Alaska," *WL*, LI (1922), 259.

⁴⁴ 1936 also witnessed the celebrating of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Jesuit Missions in Alaska.

mission church for the residents of that growing district. Since the construction of the shrine and of the retreat house the missions of Alaska have flourished as never before. This project stands as a tribute to the priests, nuns, and laymen who contributed of their time and money and even physical labor as an entreaty for heavenly help for the bleak Alaskan missions of the early 1930's.

The Catholic residents in Skagway, a new city at the northern end of Lynn Canal populated by thousands of gold-crazed men enroute to the Klondike, were first visited from Douglas Island by Father Bougis. On these visits he celebrated Mass in private homes. Missionary work did not officially begin here until September 8, 1898, when Father Philibert Turnell, S.J., arrived by command of Leopold Van Gorp, at that time superior of the Jesuits in the Rocky Mountain district and Southern Alaskan missions. Mass was first said on Sunday mornings in the temporary school house, but three months later Father René purchased in a convenient part of the city a large empty store which he easily converted into a church. The new St. Mark's Church, dedicated on Christmas Eve, was filled to capacity at the Midnight Mass.⁴⁵ Father G. Edgar Gallant, first priest ordained in Alaska (March 30, 1918, Seward's Day) and later Monsignor, was responsible for the altering and decorating of the church pioneered by Fathers Turnell and René. A chapel was erected at Haines, fifteen miles south of Skagway, in the summer of 1920. Both of these accomplishments were made possible only through the aid received from the Catholic Church Extension Society. When Father Gallant later built a new school and chapel in Skagway, some distance from old St. Mark's, he named the church after the Patroness of Alaska, the sainted Carmelite, Terese of the Child Jesus.⁴⁶

The Pius X Mission Home for Indian orphans or children of destitute Indian parents of Southeastern Alaska was erected in Skagway under the supervision of Father Gallant at a cost of approximately \$65,000. The cornerstone was laid on August 30, 1931, by Emile M. Bunoz, Bishop of Prince Rupert Island,

⁴⁵ John B. René, S.J., to the editor of the *Woodstock Letters* (n.p., n.d.), "State of Our Missions in Alaska," *WL*, XXX (1901), 6-7.

⁴⁶ McElmeel to the author, July 5, 1953, AOP.

British Columbia. It was one of the most modern and complete schools for natives in Alaska, and this despite the fact that the school's maintenance problem was staggering. The school burned to the ground in November of 1946. Monsignor Gallant rebuilt it anew, larger than before and with better arrangements.

Father Althoff had made Wrangell, lying at the wide mouth of gold-famed, turgid Stickine River, his headquarters from 1879 to 1884. He continued to visit Wrangell from Juneau during the next eleven years. From that time on the Jesuits from Juneau and Douglas Island served the town. Sometime after the turn of the century the old church was blown down in a storm and its remains used for fuel. Seldom was Wrangell visited after that event until July 17, 1907, when Adrian Sweere, S.J., made his first of many visits. At the instigation of Prefect Apostolic Crimont and the physical labors of Father Brown, the Catholic population finally did build a church, but not until 1924 did a resident priest serve the Wrangell district, in the person of Francis Monroe, S.J., from Fairbanks in interior Alaska. He enlarged the church in that year, placed a new basement under it, and also added a rectory. During the winter of 1935-36 he installed a modern heating plant. Father Monroe was forced to retire in 1939 because of poor health and was succeeded by Edward A. McNamara, S.J., who finished the interior of the church structure. The church at the attached mission of Petersburg, a town once famed for its fishing industry, measured only fourteen-and-a-half feet by thirty feet. Wrangell Institute for native children is also served from Wrangell.

The birth of Ketchikan occurred between 1895 and 1900. The Catholics in the town, shortly after the turn of the century, were visited two or three times a year by a priest from Juneau or Douglas Island, Mass being offered in the Red Men's Hall, in the public library, and sometimes in the home of Manuel Diaz where the Elk's Club now stands. The Catholics, together with the prefect apostolic, purchased an old schoolhouse in 1903, and converted it into a church. Father Sweere became the resident pastor, beginning to serve the Catholics in the middle of 1907. The remaining five years of his life he spent in doing apostolic work at little Holy Name Church until poor health forced his retirement.

All during that time he was making regular excursions to serve the Catholics at Wrangell.

A parish hall was erected in Ketchikan in the fall of 1920 during the pastorate of Father Van der Pol. Plans were laid for a hospital in the same year. Work on the hospital began in 1922, Father Monroe directing the procedure, and it was opened the following year. Bishop Crimont, after he had placed the hospital under the patronage of St. Terese, invited the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, whose motherhouse is in Newark, New Jersey, to manage the institution. Three Sisters from Bellingham, Washington, with all the needed hospital equipment and furnishings, were ordered to proceed to the new establishment. Because the first unit had accommodations for only thirty patients, Father Monroe doubled the bed capacity by enlarging and remodeling the hospital in 1928. The Sisters took over full control from the bishop in 1941, and three years later added another wing which lent itself admirably to the extension program of the institution. The Ketchikan General Hospital (the official title is still "The Little Flower Hospital") compares favorably with those of metropolitan centers of the United States and is one of the most popular institutions of the district. It welcomes all, regardless of creed, and some of its staunchest supporters are Masons.⁴⁷

Soon after August J. Coudeyre, S.J., was appointed pastor at Holy Name, July 18, 1938, he undertook the building of a new church, dedicated on Thanksgiving Day, November 24, 1938. And so passed from Ketchikan history a landmark, the old schoolhouse that had served as a church since the early 1900's. The parochial grade school was opened in 1946.

Due east of Ketchikan and almost at the head of Portland Canal, the latter for some miles the southern boundary between Alaska and British Columbia, lies the hamlet of Hyder and the Church of St. Margaret. Father Allard, O.M.I., petitioned the Catholic Church Extension Society in 1923 for \$1000 to help defray expenses in the building of a church in the rapidly growing community, and the townspeople added to the sum. Father Allard traveled from nearby Stewart, British Columbia. On one trip he

⁴⁷ August J. Coudeyre, S.J., "History of Alaskan Mission," MS, pp. 103-104, *ibid.*

was forced to tunnel through twelve feet of snow to get into the church. Father L. Leray, O.M.I., enlarged and otherwise improved the church in 1928. Hyder began to decrease in population soon afterwards, and one Sunday in 1940 there were only eleven people at Mass. Father Odil de Keyzer, O.M.I., informed Bishop O'Flanagan in November, 1952, that only two Catholics were left in the settlement. Once or twice a year a priest from Prince Rupert visits the Indian camps along the canal. So runs the short history of Catholicism in Hyder, so typical of many another Alaskan ghost town that has failed to live up to its early promises.⁴⁸

References to Catholicism in Sitka are scarce. Prior to 1922 services were conducted in an old Russian carriage barn which had been remodeled and used as a church, a gift to the Catholic missionaries from the Russian Orthodox Church (Sitka was the headquarters for the Russian Orthodox Church for all Alaska). It is not likely that this barn and the church in use already in 1885 were the same. As far back as the time of Father Tosi's coastal trip to Portland in 1895, the church was in disrepair, The Catholics of the town were greatly disturbed that a smaller church should be erected and that the Russian barn, a larger structure, should be dismantled. Father Roccati was sent in May 1922 to Sitka to tear down the Russian barn and build a new church, subsequently blessed by Father Gallant under the title "Star of the Sea." Once again the Catholic Church Extension Society contributed a large sum of money. The original title of St. Gregory Nazianzen has been restored, and the silver jubilee of the present church was celebrated on Sunday, November 23, 1947, under the direction of the pastor, Laurence A. Nevue, S.J. A rectory was added in 1943. Since the latter date the church's sanctuary has been enlarged and the seating capacity increased. The rectory is now only an office and a new addition provides quarters for a resident priest. The town of Pelican was annexed to Sitka as a station in 1950.

Mt. Edgecumbe, the vocational and medical center of the Alaska Native Service, and formerly a naval base on Japonski Island during World War II, is vitally connected with Sitkan Catholic

⁴⁸ Joseph L. McElmeel, S.J., to the author, June 28, 1953, *ibid*.

history. The Sisters of St. Ann conducted the government's tuberculosis sanatorium there from February to July 1947.⁴⁹ At Mt. Edgecumbe the pastor of Sitka has a chapel, located in the girls' dormitory, and opened on the Feast of Christ the King in 1950. Only the brightest children of Alaska are educated at Mt. Edgecumbe, and no expense is spared in their education. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that this school influences all Alaska as the children carry back their knowledge and its applications to their villages.⁵⁰

The Skagway area included, between 1898 and 1905, Sitka in the south, and Valdez, Seward, and Cordova in the west. The whole of the west had grown steadily in population. Need for churches, especially in Valdez, became imperative because of the proposed construction of the Alaska Northern Railroad from the town of Valdez to the Matanuskan coal fields. Although the town had been visited from Skagway by Father Turnell since the Feast of the Assumption 1903, St. Francis Xavier's Church was completed under his direction only in 1908. Matthias Schmidt, S.J., who became pastor in June of that year, also built St. Joseph's Church at Cordova, which opened in September 1908. Later the residence was enlarged and Father Van der Pol moved the church to its present location. Although the foundation of missionary work at Seward dates from July 2, 1905, credit for the building there of the Church of the Sacred Heart and rectory in 1910 must also go to Father Schmidt.

When the government decided to build a railroad from Seward to Fairbanks in 1915, a throng of people rushed into the port. Father Van der Pol quickly enlarged and beautified the small church that Father Schmidt had built and provided a suitable hospital ready for service in 1916. A band of five Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, with Sister Aloysius as superior, staffed the hospital. The flood of 1918-19, coupled with an epidemic of influenza, destroyed their hopes. Sister Aloysius died, and the

⁴⁹ The sanatorium at Skagway under the care of the Sisters was moved to Mt. Edgecumbe in February of 1947. The contract came to an end in July and the Sisters were determined not to renew it, for they had taken over the work only because of the war and the lack of help. The government had showed no consideration to the Sisters as Religious.

⁵⁰ McElmeel to the author, July 5, 1953, AOP.

others nuns, disabled by sickness, were recalled to the United States.

The first visit by a Catholic missionary to the new city of Anchorage, at the head of Cook Inlet and main southern gate for the famed Matanuskan Valley, was made in June 1915 by William Shepherd, S.J.⁵¹ He began to construct a church there in the following September, again with the aid of the Catholic Church Extension Society as well as with local contribution. The church, almost from the very beginning, proved hopelessly inadequate for the needs of the Catholic population. The present church, built by the Reverend Dermot O'Flanagan, later first bishop of the Diocese of Juneau, is a large, reinforced concrete building. Through the encouragement of Father O'Flanagan and Bishop Crimont the Providence Hospital was opened in June 1939. Staffed by the Sisters of Charity of Providence, it is easily one of the finest buildings in all Alaska.

Some fifty miles from Anchorage lies the little town of Palmer, with St. Michael's Church. Through the efforts of the first pastor, E. Merrill Sulzman, and the numerous residents who offered time, materials, and money, construction of the log church began in 1936 and lasted through the following year, the Catholic Church Extension Society again contributing notably to the work. From an average of six or seven persons in 1939, attendance at Sunday Mass has since grown to over 125.

The Griffin Memorial Hospital of Kodiak was taken over in November 1944 on contract with the city and territory by the Grey Nuns of the Sacred Heart.⁵² The Kodiak City authorities had encountered endless difficulties in their attempt to conduct the hospital and thankfully turned over the work to the Sisters. Bishop Crimont, in petitioning for nuns for this work, promised the services of a resident priest as chaplain and pastor. Father Vincent Edge, of the Society of Atonement, worked in these

⁵¹ William J. Deeney, S.J., came from California to help the other missionaries at Cordova, Valdez, Seward, and Anchorage because the stampede created in 1915 to the government railroad terminal (Cook's Inlet) made necessary a third priest in that section. As a tribute to Alaskan climate, Father Deeney was sent to try the Alaskan cure because his health had broken down in Los Angeles. Anon., "Alaska," *WL*, XLIV (1915), 408.

⁵² The motherhouse of the Grey Nuns is in Philadelphia, Penn.

capacities almost a year before Louis B. Fink, S.J., was appointed resident priest.

Scattered throughout various parts of the diocese are missionary stations such as Auke Bay, Hoonah, Pelican, Kenia, and Ninilchik, as yet visited only at irregular intervals by missionary priests.

The day dreaded by Alaska's Catholics at length arrived. Bishop Joseph Raphael Crimont, S.J. Bishop of all Alaska, died in Juneau at the age of eighty-seven on Sunday afternoon, May 20, 1945. The Governor of Alaska ordered that throughout the territory flags should fly at half-mast for three days.⁵³ This man, who St. John Bosco predicted would be, in God's Providence, a missionary, was laid to rest in the stone chapel on Shrine Island. Bishop Walter James Fitzgerald, S.J., who had been consecrated coadjutor to the aging Bishop Crimont on February 24, 1939, succeeded the late bishop. His term was very short. Worn out by exertion and care he died in Seattle, July 19, 1947.

His successor, Bishop Francis Gleeson, S.J., was consecrated on Monday April 5, 1948, Bishop of all Alaska the last bishop to be so named for he, in turn, in the Holy Family Church in Anchorage, consecrated on October 3, 1951, the Most Reverend Dermot O'Flanagan first Bishop of the new Diocese of Juneau. Bishop Gleeson retained the remainder of the territory as the Vicariate of Alaska. The mission country had become a diocese, and the mission chapter in this sector of Alaska had been formally closed.

⁵³ Hayden A. Vachon, S.J., *Northern Light* (Spokane, 1945), p. 1.

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Mundelein College, Chicago, Illinois
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Nazareth College, Rochester, New York
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(Insert sum of money and description of property)



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